

# THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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# THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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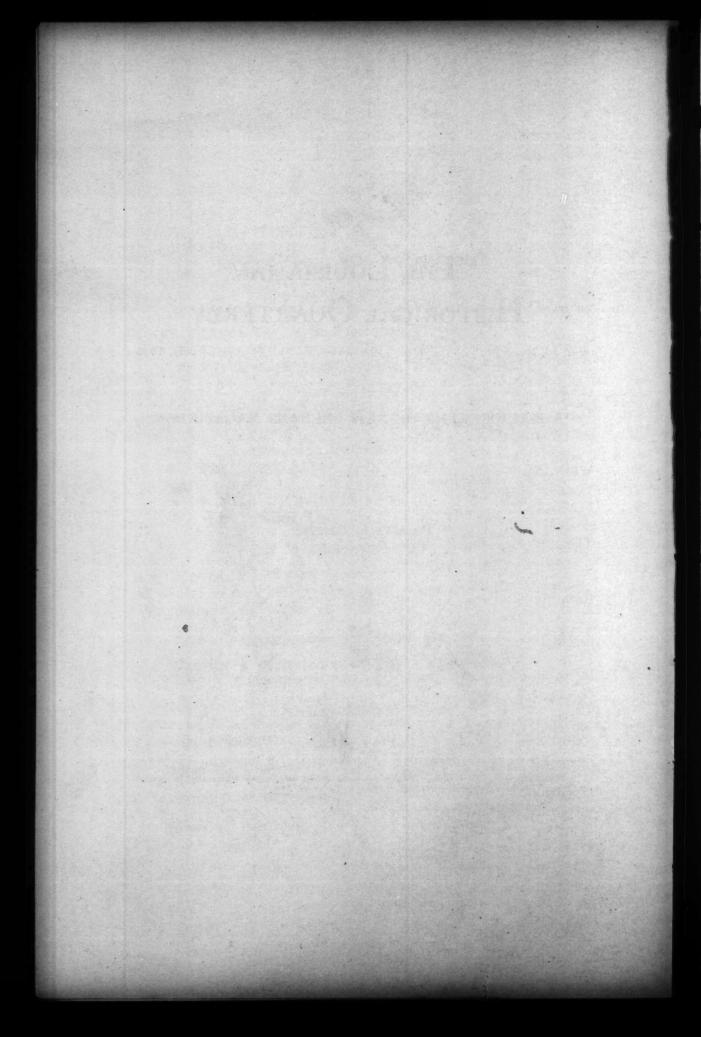
July, 1935

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NEW ORLEANS MAGAZINES\*

By MAX L. GRIFFIN



\*Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Tulane University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



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### PREFACE

This bibliography is an attempt to make a record of some few of the many magazines New Orleans has fostered during the past hundred years. It makes no claim to completeness. I have tried to include only those magazines that are of some literary significance and interest. On this basis I have generally excluded, perhaps somewhat arbitrarily, trade and professional journals, house organs, and lodge publications. School magazines have been excluded because of their limited appeal and impermanent nature; only one or two have been included, and those principally because of their early date.

It has been more difficult to differentiate between magazines and newspapers. The line of distinction has, of necessity, been a purely arbitrary one. Neither frequency of publication nor format offers a very sound basis of inclusion and exclusion. In the case of the French journals it has been especially difficult to distinguish between newspapers and magazines. There is, as a matter of fact, no strict basis for distinction, for the early French publications were as much the one as the other. Consequently personal judgment and opinion have played a large part in my choice of French journals to be included. Some I have included; I have omitted many more. I should say further that I have not been as careful in seeking out the French magazines as the English. I hope that I have shown more consistency with the English.

In all cases I have attempted to give full bibliographical information in so far as I have been able to obtain it from examination of the magazines themselves. The notes about subject-matter and contributors are not as full, perhaps, as might be wished, but the fact that this is pioneer work in New Orleans magazines has seemed to justify making it somewhat incomplete. After the alphabetical list there is a chronological check-list which gives a cumulative notion of magazine activity in the years represented. Finally there is an index of the editors and principal contributors.

I wish to acknowledge my obligations to Dr. R. P. McCutcheon, at whose suggestion the work was begun, and under whose supervision it was completed; to Mr. Robert J. Usher and Miss Renshaw, of the Howard Memorial Library, for their kindness in making available most of the material with which I have worked; to Mr. Helmer L. Webb, Tulane University Librarian, for many valuable suggestions; and to Mr. Robert Glenk, Miss Cerf, and Miss Freret, of the State Museum Library.

M. L. G.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

I have adopted in general the abbreviations and symbols used in the Union List of Serials.

LNH-Howard Memorial Library

LNP—New Orleans Public Library

LNSM-Louisiana State Museum Library in the Cabildo

LNT-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University

v.-volume

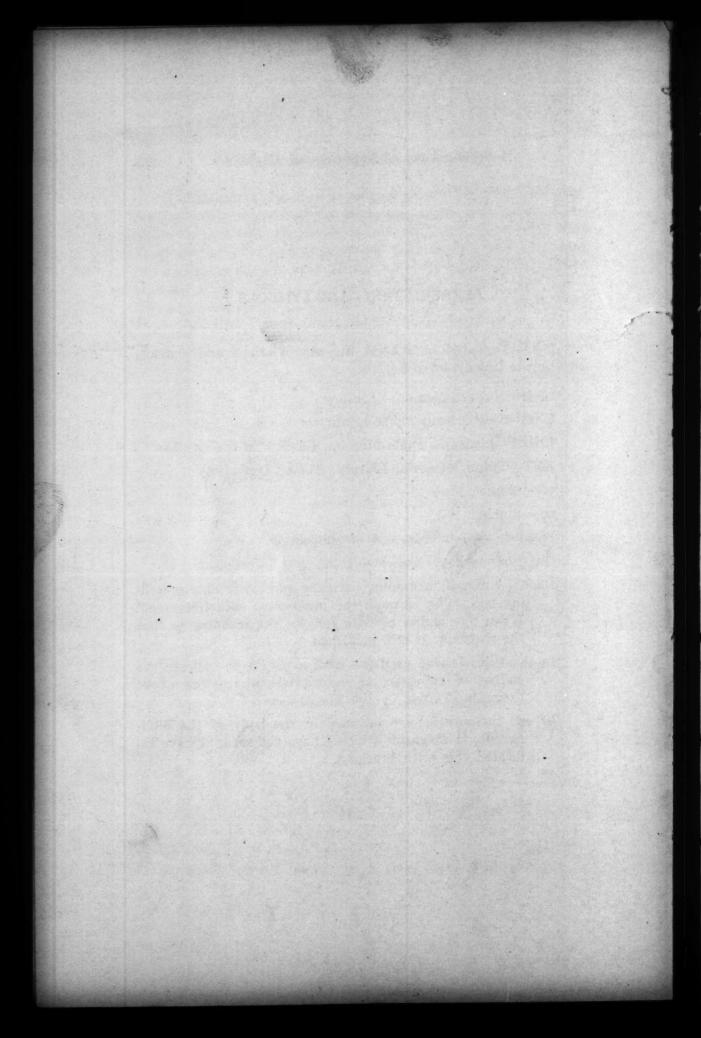
no.—number

Parallels (//) indicate end of publication.

Question-mark (?) indicates incomplete information.

- Dash (-) means "beginning with the number or date preceding and going through the number or date following."

  When no number or date follows, the meaning is that the magazine is still published.
- In the titles I have used the semi-colon (;) to indicate the ending of sub-titles or descriptive information about themselves given by the magazines.
- In one instance I have included in the body of the bibliography a magazine which I have not seen. I have indicated this with brackets.



## ALPHABETICAL LIST

 Agricultural and Commercial Review, devoted to Southern agricultural, manufacturing and commercial interests; published monthly by R. B. May & Bro., New Orleans. v. 1 no. 1-5 //? Nov. ?, 1884-Mar., 1885 //? 23x30 cm.

Editor: R. B. May ?

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 5 (Mar., 1885)

Notes: Contains Agricultural and Commercial Departments, and another called The South and Its Resources. Contributions solicited for each department. Selected verse. Essays of interest other than agricultural and commercial. Twelve pages. R. B. May was a real estate agent of New Orleans.

2. The American Clubman; a monthly magazine published by Courtland H. Young, New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 4 no. 9 //? Jan., 1897-Sept., 1900 //? 231/4x31 cm.

Continued as Young's Magazine.

Editor: Courtland H. Young.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 3, 4, 6, 10 (Mar., Apr., June, Oct., 1897).

Notes: No. 10 was the last issue under this title. See entry for Young's Magazine (120) for contents. Fourteen pages.

The Animal Herald; published monthly under the auspices of the Louisiana Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, by Howard C. Smith, New Orleans.
 v. 1 no. 1-9 //? Oct., 1890-June, 1891 //?
 23½x30 cm. Illustrated.

Editor: None given. Officers of the Society?

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1, 5-9 (Oct., 1890, Feb.-June, 1891).

Notes: Editorials, selected verse and stories, short paragraphs. Eight pages.

Art and Letters; an illustrated bi-monthly magazine, published by the New Orleans Publishing Company, New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-6 // Feb.-Dec., 1887 // 23x30 cm.

Editor: by Art and Letters Association of New Orleans.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-6. LNSM v. 1 no. 1-6. LNT v. 1 no. 1-6.

Notes: Literary studies. Verse. Papers on historical and famous things and places about New Orleans. Travel accounts. Art talks and suggestions. Book review section. Fiction. Miscellanies. An excellent art and literary magazine. Contributors: Etchings by B. A. Wikstrom, Frank Waller, E. Woodward; Verse by Chas. Wash. Coleman, Jr., M. E. M. Davis, J. A. Dickson, Barton Grey, Wm. Preston Johnston, Rosalie M. Jonas, James R. Randall, Amélie Rives, Eli Shepperd, Mary Ashley Townsend, Julie K. Wetherill, Marie B. Williams, Robert Burns Wilson; others—John Augustin, Dr. J. H. Bemis, Wm. M. Burwell, Thomas Nelson Carter, G. H. Clements, Erwin Craighead, Rev. J. Wm. Flinn, Nora Clifton Franklin, Augustus A. Hayes, Wm. H. Holcombe, Michael Kallopothekes, Grace King, Louise Richardson, Rev. David Sessums, Blanch Herndon Sharp, Mrs. Wilmer H. Shields.

 The Athenaeum, a magazine for Jewish homes; published by the Young Men's Hebrew Association, New Orleans. v. 1-v. ? no. 133 //? Jan., 1909?-Feb. 1, 1915 //? Semi-monthly. Illustrated. 25x33 cm.

Editors: Sol Weiss and Herman J. Seiferth.

Holdings: LNH v. 12 no. 61, 76 (July 1, 1911, Mar. 15, 1912); no. 103 (Oct. 15, 1913), no. 133 (Feb. 1, 1915).

Notes: Verse. Illustrated stage reviews. Twenty-four pages.

 Le Carillon, journal peu politique, encore moins littéraire, et pas de tout sérieux; published by J. M. Durel, New Orleans.

v. 1-no. for Nov. 9, 1873 //? Sept.?, 1869-Nov. 9, 1873 //? Weekly. 261/2x351/2 cm.

Editors: J. M. Durel, redacteur et editeur, 1869-70.

C. Maillet, editeur, Nov. 3, 1872-

P. Durel, redacteur en chef, Nov. 3, 1872-

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 26-33 (Mar. 6-Apr. 24, 1870); v. 2 no. 1-21 (Nov. 3, 1872-Mar. 23, 1873); no. for May 11, June 6-July 3, July 10-Sept. 21, Oct. 26-Nov. 9, 1873.

Notes: Begun in 1869 by J. M. Durel, but discontinued in 1870. Revived in Nov., 1872, by P. Durel and Maillet. The numbers of the first volume are devoted in large measure to opera revue and comments on the management of the opera house. This finally led to a duel between Durel and M. Calabresi, Directeur-Gérant de l'Opéra, in April, 1870, which was called off after an exchange of shots. Other material of interest; verse, historic sketches and surveys; regular feuilleton material. With beginning of v. 2 became primarily a political and news journal. Always rather humorous. Eight pages. In v. 2 no. 5-6 there are notices of the new Courrier Français under M. Passama Domenech.

The Challenge; published by the Challenge Company, New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-2 //? Sept., 1912-Jan., 1913 //? Monthly. Illustrated. 13x19 cm.

Editor: "The Bunch."

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1, 2 (Sept., 1912, Jan., 1913).

Notes: No. 2 published by Guy Guthridge. No. 2 carries note: "The editorial expression of the Challenge magazine will be found in the articles of John S. Kendall, Carleton F. Pool, Pierce Butler, Bentley Nicholson, Harvey Goodman, Edward Amherst Ott and Strickland Gillian. These gentlemen write what they believe and the publisher of the Challenge will not be responsible for opinions expressed." Discussions of variety of subjects: politics, marriage, gallantry, etc. Familiar essays. Music review, From the Tone World, by B. Nicholson. Dramatic news by same. Book reviews, From the Tome World, by Harvey Goodman. Announcement that Eighteenth Century vignettes to be featured from month to

month. First is Dean Swift; Dryden to be second. Also A Review of the Early Authors and of Quaint and Curious Tomes of Forgotten Lore; and another section, Reviews of Books Out of the Ordinary, containing notes on new editions, etc. Verse. Contributors:H. E. Chambers, W. C. Chevis, H. E. Gilchrist, Strickland Gillilan, Harvey Goodman, J. H. Jaque, J. S. Kendall, Bentley Nicholson, E. A. Ott, Carleton Pool. Illustrations by Gil. Edge.

 Club Life, a journal devoted to the interests of Southern Clubdom; New Orleans.
 v. 1?, 1902? 15x23½ cm.

Editor: None given.

Holdings: LNH one number for May, 1902?, devoted to the Choctaw Club.

LNSM has this number also.

Notes: No information as to publication given. Only material in this number about the Choctaw Club. Photographs of members, club-rooms; account of founding, history, brief sketches of members. Sixty pages.

Colton's Magazine, poetry, prose, fiction and fact; published monthly by Charles J. Colton, New Orleans.
 v. 1 no. 1-11 //? Jan.-Nov., 1898 //? 17½x24 cm.

Editors: Charles J. Colton. Miss Regina Morphy.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-4 (Jan.-Apr.), 7-11 (July-Aug., 1898).

Notes: The title changes to Colton-Morphy Magazine with v. 1 no. 8 when Miss Morphy's Creole Monthly consolidates with Colton's Magazine. It was also later called the New Orleans Magazine. The Creole Magazine for May, 1899, states that it ended publication several months before this time. See entries for Creole Monthly (16) and Creole Magazine (15). Verse. Sketches. Fiction both as short stories and serials. Contributors: Stephen H. Alison, Mrs. Jeannette Downs Coltharp, B. B. Garrison, Geo. Lipsher, H. H. Mayo, Helen Pitkin, G. Rehspil, Henry Rightor, Laurie Wood.

10. Comptes-Rendus de L'Athénée Louisianais; published by L'Athénée Louisianais, Nouvelle-Orléans.

v. 1 1st series- . July, 1876- . 15x23 cm.

Bi-monthly 1876-1901, Quarterly 1902-May, 1922, every four months since Sept., 1922.

Editor: Comité de rédaction.

Holdings: LNH 1876 complete through 1929. LNSM v. 3 no. 4, 6 (July, Nov., 1896); v. 1 no. 4 (July, 1897); v. 1 no. 2-3 (Mar.-May, 1900); nos. for Apr., 1917-Sept., 1929. LNT 1876-May, 1925.

Notes: Publication delayed at present time.

"La Société fondée sous ce nom a pour objet: 1. De perpétuer la langue française en Louisiane; 2. De s'occuper de travaux scientifiques, littéraires, artistiques, et de les protéger; 3. De s'organiser en Association d'Assistance Mutuelle." The organization began Nov. 24, 1875, and was completed Jan. 12, 1876, with these founders: Dr. Sabin Martin, Dr. Armand Mercier, Dr. Alfred Mercier, Dr. Charles Turpin, M. Olivier Carriere, Dr. Jean G. Hava, Général G. T. Beauregard, Dr. Just Touatre, Col. Leon Queyrouse, M. Auguste Jas, M. Paul Fourchy, Juge Arthur Saucier. The first officers were: Pres., Dr. Armand Mercier; V.-Pres., Général G. T. Beauregard; Sec.-Treas., Dr. Alfred Mercier. The first regular meeting was held Jan. 26, 1876. Regular semi-monthly meetings from that time.

Each number contains the proceedings of the meetings, the lectures given and read, the discussions, correspondence, verse, and a section of Miscellanées containing short notes on literary, artistic, and scientific subjects. Here book notices find place. Errata noted. Table of contents generally for each of earlier volumes, but none in later ones.

V. 3 no. 6 (May, 1879) notes a new local French journal, Le Petit Journal, by M. Charles Bléton. V. 3 no. 3, 4th series (May, 1892), contains advertisement for Revue Bleue, revue politique et littéraire, paraissant le Samedi, fondée en 1863. Also a summary of no. 16, showing literary, musical, theatrical, as well as political interests.

11. Le Corsaire Louisianais, feuille hebdomadaire; published weekly by P. S. Biron, 70 Rue de Chartres, Nouvelle-Orléans.

no. 1-13 //? Jan.-Apr. 5, 1834 //? 22x271/2 cm.

Editor: P. S. Biron.

Holdings: LNH no. 13 of first year (5 Apr. 1834). LNSM v. 1 no. 5 (Feb. 8, 1834).

Notes: Political and literary, local politics excluded. Contents of no. 13: Les Anglais au Bal de la Cour, et La Cour au Bal des Anglais; On y Va, on les Visites; Revue Theatrale; Butin; and three selections of verse. Four pages.

12. Country Visitor's Summer Magazine; published by A. Meynier, Jr., New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-v. 4 no. 10 //? May, 1881-May 5, 1883 //? Weekly. 15x23 cm.

Editor: A. Meynier, Jr.

Holdings: LNH no. 1 (May, 1881).

Notes: Suspended publication Oct., 1881-Apr., 1883 (Oct., 1881, v. 4 no. 9). Announces as aim to give to readers "Southern tales and sketches, descriptions of home scenery and incidents of Southern life." This number contains such tales and sketches; attention to Southern resorts, especially those of Louisiana. Current affairs. Travel notes. Charles Gayarré a contributor. First number was an experiment; announcement made that if it meets with approval will continue as a regular periodical. Sixty-two pages. The Country Visitor was a weekly newspaper of the time. There are some numbers of it at the State Museum.

La Créole, gazette des salons, des arts et des modes; published by Hains Boussuge, New Orleans.
 v. 1 no. 1-34 //? Nov., ? 1837-Mar., 1838 //?
 Semi-weekly. 24x34 cm.

Editor: Hains Boussuge.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 16, 17, 19, 22, 23 (Jan. 4-28, 1838). LNSM v. 1 no. 1-3, 6-17, 21-23, 31-34. Notes: Theatre section containing reviews, notices and brief accounts of coming presentations. Feuilleton section. Verse. Generally of interest to the salon world. Four pages.

14. The Creole Fireside, a weekly illustrated journal, devoted to society, humor and science; published by George Augustin, New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 3 no. 11 //? 1896-July 2, 1898 //? 23x29 cm. Became a semi-monthly before Oct. 31, 1897.

Editors: George Augustin and Miss Delphine Points at beginning. Later Miss Lola Alvez succeeded Miss Points.

Holdings: LNH v. 2 no. 32 (Oct. 31, 1897); v. 3 no. 5 (Mar. 15, 1898), 9 (undated), 11 (July 2, 1898).

Notes: Stories, sketches, jokes, verse, society notes. John Augustin a contributor.

 The Creole Magazine; illustrated monthly published by Miss Regina Morphy, New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 2 no. 1 //? May, 1899-June, 1900 //? 151/2x23 cm.

Editor: Miss Regina Morphy.

Holdings: LNH v. 1-v. 2 no. 1. LNSM v. 1 no. 10.

Notes: This is a continuation of The Creole Monthly after a suspension of some months. Same contributors and similar material; stories, verse, local sketches, etc. See entry 16. In the first number the editor speaks of the cessation of the New Orleans Magazine, formerly Colton-Morphy Magazine, several months before. See entries 9 and 68.

16. The Creole Monthly; illustrated monthly published by Miss Regina Morphy, New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 3 no. 5 //? Mar., 1896-July, 1898 //? 15½x23 cm.

Editor: Miss Regina Morphy.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-9, 11, 12; v. 2 no. 1, 3-5, 10-12; v. 3 no. 1, 3-5 (July, 1898). LNSM has some numbers not yet cataloged.

Notes: Suspended in 1898, but in May, 1899, Miss Morphy issued v. 1 no. 1 of The Creole Magazine (15), a similar publication. After this suspension the Monthly consolidated with Colton's Magazine and the first issue appeared in Aug., 1898, under the title of Colton-Morphy Magazine (9). In v. 1 no. 1 Miss Morphy refers to a former magazine of hers, The Family Mirror (31), which she had given up to become associate editor of The Sunday Figaro. Her resignation from that position led to the publication of the Monthly.

Contains: personals, social items; stories, of Louisiana and New Orleans especially; verse, French and English; jokes; selected material; photographs and sketches of New Orleans people and businesses. Contributors: Lola Alvez, Geo. Augustin, Kate Lee, Rixford Lincoln, Marie L. Points, V. E. Rillieux, Marie F. Seiler, Harry James Strong. Miss Morphy was a niece of Paul Morphy, the famous chess player.

17. The Crescent Monthly, devoted to literature, art, science and society; published by William Evelyn, 90 Camp St., New Orleans; and, after two or three months, jointly by Evelyn and Wm. B. Smith & Company, Raleigh, N. C. v. 1-v. 2 no. 9 //? Apr., 1866-Mar., 1867 //? 15x24 cm.

Editors: William Evelyn; and, after Oct., 1866, Wm. B. Smith.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1, 2, 5, 6; v. 2 no. 7-9. LNSM v. 1 no. 1. Duke and Princeton Universities have secured some numbers from Howard Memorial.

Notes: No. 1 states that it is not to appeal to Southern patriotism for subscriptions, is to be open to all parts of the country, but is to be a channel for Southern writers especially. Contains criticisms, verse, literary studies, reviews, selected material. The editorials contain personal notices of artists, musicians, literary people. Also notices of books before publication, and Southern publishing houses. Contributors: James Wood Davidson, Miss Augusta Evans, Harry Lynden Flash, Paul H. Hayne, James R. Randall, John R. Thompson, Henry

Timrod, and many other good Southern writers. William Evelyn continued to contribute some things until Jan., 1867.

18. The Crickett, a fortnightly periodical devoted to local literary, artistic and social interests; published by Lamar Middleton, 702 Hennen Bldg., New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-3 //? Mar. 21-Apr. 18, 1896 //? 19x27 cm.

Editors: Lamar Middleton. Louise de St. Hubert Guyol, assistant.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1, 3.

Notes: Hopes to fill a need for a medium of expression for literary people of New Orleans. Invites contributors, but evidently not much response given. Contains studies, sketches, lively editorials, verse by the editor. No. 3 contains an article on the history of the circulating library in New Orleans.

19. The Criterion; monthly magazine published by Louis A. Creighton, New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-2 //? Apr.-May, 1899 //? 15x221/2 cm.

Editor: Louis A. Creighton.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 2 (May, 1899).

Notes: No. 2 has only seven pages of matter, brief thoughts and discussions on such topics as Law-Lynching, Dishonorbale Men and Business Corporations, Should Women Become Self-Supporting?, Neglected Talent, War in the Philippines, Degeneration of Legitimate Concert, "Society" Fools, and Life's Work. Also, Leaves from Our Note Book (Morals), an Open Letter, two Personals. All by the editor.

20. Current Topics, for leisure hours; illustrated monthly published by Mrs. P. W. Mount, New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 5 no. 5 //? Oct., 1890-Feb., 1895 //? 17x25 cm.

Editor: Mrs. P. W. Mount (Ruth Ramay).

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-14 (Oct., 1890-Nov., 1891); v. 2 no. 4-7 (Jan.-Apr., 1892); v. 3 no. 6, 8-12 (Mar.-Sept., 1893); v. 4 no. 1, 4, 6, 11 (Oct., 1893-Aug., 1894); v. 5 no. 2, 4, 5 (Nov., 1894-Feb., 1895). LNSM v. 3 no. 6.

Notes: Contributions from New Orleans and Southern writers. Stories, sketches, verse, editorial notices and discussions, personal notices, occasional notices of books and magazines. Contributors: James Augustin, George Augustin, Charles Dimitry, Belle Hunt (Mrs. Shortridge), Veni MacDonald, Marie Points, Delphine Points, Mrs. Elizabeth Lyle Saxon; drawings by Lulu Saxon. Beginning in 1893 Mrs. M. G. T. Stempel edited departments called Topics for Young Folks and Home Circle.

V. 5 no. 4 (Jan., 1895), speaks of Miss Regina Morphy's Family Mirror, a monthly magazine for women, begun in Nov., 1894 (31). V. 3 no. 6 (Mar., 1893) announces that Mrs. Olive B. Lee, of Dallas, Tex., has gone into partnership with Mrs. Mount. The number for August says that Mrs. Lee's connection with the magazine is at an end because she kept for her own purposes material on the Chicago World's Fair, meant for Current Topics.

21. De Bow's Review of the Southern and Western States, devoted to commerce, agriculture, manufactures, internal improvements, statistics, general literature, etc. J. D. B. De Bow, editor and proprietor, New Orleans. v. 1-34, Jan., 1846-Aug., 1864; after the war series, v. 1-8, Jan., 1866-Oct., 1870; new series, v. 1 no. 1-4, Oct., 1879-June, 1880 // 14x21½ cm.
Monthly. Illustrated, maps, portraits.

Editors: Jan., 1846-Feb., 1867, James Dunwoody Bronson De Bow (1820-67); Apr., 1867-Feb., 1868, R. G. Barnwell, Edwin Q. Bell; Mar., 1868-Dec., 1879, William Mac Creary Burwell.

Holdings: LNH complete. LNP v. 1-18, 21-24, 28 (Jan., 1846-June, 1860). LNT v. 1-29 (Jan., 1846-Dec., 1860).

Notes: Beginning with v. 7 (July-Dec., 1849) new series started at frequent intervals, with numbering on titlepages and captions more or less irregular.

Publication suspended Jan.-June, 1849, inclusive; Sept., 1862-June, 1864; Sept., 1864-Dec., 1865; Nov., 1870-Sept., 1879; Jan.-May, 1880. Title varies: Jan., 1846-June, 1850, The Commercial Review of the South and

West; a monthly journal of trade, commerce, commercial polity, agriculture, manufactures, internal improvements and general literature (cover-title, Feb., 1847-June, 1850: De Bow's Commercial Review of the South and West).

July, 1850-Dec., 1852, De Bow's Review of the Southern and Western States. Devoted to commerce, agriculture, manufactures.

Jan., 1853-Aug., 1864, De Bow's Review and industrial resources, statistics, etc. Devoted to commerce, agriculture, manufactures. (Volumes from July, 1861, to Aug., 1864, want title-pages; cover-title: De Bow's Review. Industrial resources, etc.).

Jan., 1866-Dec., 1867, De Bow's Review, devoted to the restoration of the Southern States.

Jan., 1868-June, 1880, De Bow's Review . . . Agricultural, commercial, industrial progress and resources (cover-title, Apr., 1869-Oct., 1870: De Bow's New Orleans monthly review).

Published in New Orleans, 1846-52; New Orleans and Washington, 1853-60; New Orleans and Charleston, S. C., 1861-62; Columbia, S. C., 1864; New Orleans, etc., 1866-80.

Interests after war announced as: Literature, education, agriculture, commerce, industrial improvements, manufactures, mining and statistics, the question of the freedman. Always for the industrialization of the South. De Bow stated in his introductory editorial that he wanted it to be to the South and West what Hunt's Merchant's Magazine was to the North and East. Turned to commercial matters because "The physical want precedes, in the order of time, the intellectual. Ploughshares come before philosophy." Broader interests than trade journal or purely commercial organ. Historical articles. Biographical sketches. European correspondence. Reviews. Section called The Publishing Business in earlier numbers give brief book reviews and literary notes, reviews of magazines. Notices of books before publication, with special interest in school books for the

South. Literary articles. Verse occasionally. Prominent contributors from over the South and Southwest. Indexes by volumes and for first and second series of ten volumes. About 110-130 pages each number.

22. The Defender, dedicated to Enlightenment and in the interest of "People of Brains" who appreciate that "Right is Might and Must Prevail"; published monthly by Mendelson & Co., New Orleans.
v. 1-v. 3 no. 2 //? Oct., 1900?-Nov., 1902 //?

23½x31 cm. Editor: B. Mendelson.

Holdings: LNH v. 3 no. 2 (Nov., 1902).

Notes: Stage review, verse, "Up-to-date Sermons." A page advertisement to subscribers in v. 3 no. 2 tells them that their interests are being undermined by fanatics, hypocrites and humbugs, whom The Defender proposes to combat in the interest of Personal Rights.

23. Le Diamant, publication illustrée; a weekly magazine published by La Société Louisianaise, New Orleans. v. 1 no. 1-26 //? Feb. 5-Aug. 14, 1887 //? 22½x30½ cm.

Editor: None given.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-10, 12-14, 17, 18, 20-22, 24-26 (Feb.-Aug., 1887). LNSM v. 1 no. 12, 14, 16-19, 21, 22, 25, 26.

Notes: The first number announces that the aim of Le Diamant is to offer "un recueil complet d'anecdotes et légendes Louisianaises, chansons en patois créole, récits des hauts faits de nos ancêtres, duels célèbres, superstitions populaires, poésies choisies, etc." It is valuable for material of this kind. V. 1 no. 14 (May 1) republishes the Premier "Directory" de la Nouvelle-Orléans, 1807. V. 1 no. 22 (July 7) republishes a poem, L'entrevue de Claiborne et de Lafitte, by Urbain David (apothicaire-poète), first published in 1845. No. 26 has another poem by David, Sur La Mort de Dominique You. Gustave Daussin one of few signed contributors.

24. The Dictator; published monthly at No. 12 Exchange Place, by S. Samuel, New Orleans.

v. 1-v.2 no. 6 //? Feb. ?, 1892-July, 1893 //? 23x30 cm.

Editor: S. Samuel, editor and proprietor.

Holdings: LNH v. 2 no. 6 (July, 1893).

Notes: Short essays. Men and Matters. Verse by F. B. Wilson. A story by Clara M. Howard. Jokes. Eight pages. Front-print illustration.

25. The Diocese of Louisiana, a monthly publication in the interests of the Church in this Diocese; published and edited by the Bishop of Louisiana, with the co-operation of the clergy, New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 30 no. 4 //? Mar., 1896-Oct., 1925 //? 20x271/2 cm.

Editor: Rev. H. R. Carson.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 3 (May, 1896); v. 14 no. 12 (Apr., 1910); v. 16 no. 5 (Sept., 1911); v. 30 no. 4 (Oct., 1925).

Notes: Protestant Episcopal. Diocese and clergy news and material. Book notices and reviews. Twelve pages.

26. The Double-Dealer; published monthly by the Double-Dealer Publishing Co., New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 8 no. 48 // Jan., 1921-May, 1926 //

171/2x241/2 cm.

Monthly Jan., 1921-July, 1925. Bi-monthly Nov., 1925-May, 1926. Publication rather irregular.

Editors: Julius Weis Friend, 1921-26. Basil Thompson, 1921-24 (died). John McClure, Mar., 1924-26.

Holdings: LNH v. 1-4; v. 5 no. 25, 26, 29, 30 (Nov., 1923); v. 6-8. LNSM no. 2, 4, 5, 11, 13-15, 32, 35, 36, 44-47.

Notes: Numbered consecutively regardless of volume number. Index at end of each volume. Excellent literary journal with prominent contributors from all parts of the country and abroad. First number states, "Our plan for the present is to print one short story each month, essays, reviews, sketches, epigrams, and sundry observations on the human animal as celestial aspirant

and strap-hanger." (Reference to The Southerner by John McClure and Henry McCullough, Dec., 1919-May, 1920).

27. Down in Dixie, caricature, art, literature, fiction, politics. etc.; a Southern illustrated semi-monthly; published by the Down in Dixie Pub. Co., New Orleans, and Vicksburg, Miss.

v. 1 no. 1-11 //? Mar. ? 1896-Aug. 1, 1896 //? 26x35 cm.

Editor: None given.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 11 (Aug. 1, 1896),

Notes: Art and Literary departments. Page of verse. A woman's department, In Woman's Sphere, by Ruth Ramay. Sketches of prominent Southern writers; no. 11 contains that of Mrs. Susan Dabney Smedes. Stories. Cartoons. Twenty-four pages.

28. "Echo," herausgegeben im Interesse der Erste Evangelische Gemeinde von Pastor A. H. Becker, 1831 Carondelet Str., New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 17 no. 3 //? 1899?-Sept., 1915 //? Monthly. 171/2x26 cm.

Editor: Pastor A. H. Becker.

Holdings: LNH v. 14 no. 12 (June, 1913); v. 17 no. 3 (Sept., 1915).

Notes: Church organ. Personals. Verse. Both English and German. Eight pages.

29. Elite, journal of society, music and drama; published by Elite Publishing Co., New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 4 no. 1 //? Dec., 1899- Jan. 1902 //? Semi-monthly. Illustrated. 24x31 cm.

Editor: None given.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-4, 6-8, 10-12; v. 2 no. 1, 7; v. 4 no. 1.

Notes: Devoted to society, music, art, drama. Brief book notices and reviews. Personals, photographs, sketches. Occasionally a bit of verse, usually selected.

30. L'Entr'Acte, journal des théâtres, littéraire et artistique; publié par Alfred Mercier et L. E. Marchand, Nouvelle-Orléans.

v. 1 no. 1-? Nov. 19-Nov. 26, 1870 //? 261/2x351/2 cm. Weekly.

Editors: Alfred Mercier, redacteur en chef; L. E. Marchand, imprimeur-éditeur.

Holdings: LNH numbers for Nov. 19, 26, 1870.

Notes: Theatre chronicle. Art, verse, music, literary sketches. To be published only during the theatrical season.

There was another L'Entr'Acte, which I have not seen, in 1850-51. LNSM has no. 1-38 of this.

31. The Family Mirror, "an interesting monthly magazine for women"; published by Miss Regina Morphy, New Orleans. v. 1-? Nov., 1894-?

Editor: Miss Regina Morphy.

Notes: This information was gotten from Current Topics for Jan., 1895. See entry 20. I have not seen any numbers of the Mirror.

32. Figaro, a weekly record of Society, Art, Literature and Contemporary History, with a slight dash of politics from an abstract point of view; published every Saturday by Figaro Company, New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 2 no. 31 //? Dec., 1883?-July 19, 1884 //? Illustrated. 26x35½ cm.

Editor: None given.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 6, 14, 26 (Jan. 26-June 14, 1884); v. 2 no. 28 (June 28, 1884). LNSM v. 1 no. 16, 19, 23; v. 2 no. 27, 31 (July 19, 1884).

Notes: Considerable attention to politics. Colored page and double-page lithograph cartoons. Reviews and notices of the playhouses. Short sketches. Selected articles and verse. Men and Matters, v. 1 no. 9, Aug., 1895, mentions the Weekly Figaro, and says that George Augustin was editor then. This was no doubt The Sunday Figaro with which Miss Regina Morphy was associated in 1895. See entry 16.

33. Gas, a weekly publication devoted to general news and literature. It hopes to burn brightly. New Orleans. v. 1-v. 2 no. 1 // Nov., 1901-Jan., 1902 // 23½x30½ cm.

Editor: H. R. R. Hertzberg. Bankson Taylor, proprietor. A. G. Conklin, business manager.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-12 (Nov. 2, 1901-Jan. 18, 1902); v. 2 no. 1 (Jan. 25, 1902).

Notes: Principa'ly literary. No politics. Sketches, stories, verse, dramatic comments and reviews. According to the editor, "Stories, verse, epigrams, salted sayings, and fairy fancies of the footlights." Verse by Hertzberg. Very similar to Hertzberg's Weekly (38). Twelve pages. The journal made its appearance at the time of the introduction of gas for lighting purposes in the city. Taylor was manager of the New Orleans Lighting Company; hence the name. Not used especially as an organ of the company, however. Succeeded by Johnny on the Spot. See entry 43.

34. Good Health and Mental Bliss; published by Thos. Nicholson, M.D., LL.D., editor, 490 Magazine St., New Orleans. v. 1-v. 2 no. 11 //? Sept., 1871?-July, 1873 //? Monthly. 21½x28½ cm.

Editor: Thos. Nicholson, M.D., LL.D.

Holdings: LNH v. 2 no. 1-11 (Sept., 1872-July, 1873).

Notes: The cover carries this sub-title: "a household journal, containing valuable articles of personal interest, as to the restoration and preservation of health, representing the old and the new, and the advanced ideas of the age, from all parts of the world. It is full of practical directions and useful prescriptions as to the care of the face, eyes, ears, nose, hair, throat, lungs, etc.; full of receipts for colognes, perfumery, cosmetics, the promotion of naturalness and personal beauty." Prescriptions and remedies not all Nicholson's; gives those of other physicians, taken, presumably, from medical journals. Intended originally especially for the masses, but has many professional subscribers. Boasts large circulation. Sixteen pages.

35. The Harlequin; published by J. M. Leveque, New Orleans. v. 1-10 // June 28, 1899-1909 // 26x35 cm. Weekly. Illustrated.

Editor: Joseph M. Leveque.

Holdings: LNH v. 1; v. 2 no. 1-52 (June 30, 1900-July 18, 1901; v. 3 no. 29; v. 4 no. 45; v. 5 no. 7, 10, 12-26, 29; v. 6 no. 41; v. 7 no. 2, 3, 5, 14, 15, 33, 39. LNP v. 1 June, 1899-June, 1900). LNSM v. 1 no. 23; v. 2-7 (July, 1901-July, 1906).

Notes: Called the foremost literary and political weekly of the South by National Magazine, Boston. Stage reviews and comments, verse, politics. Translations from Heine by H. R. R. Hertzberg. Literary comment and discussion. Books reviewed and criticized. Art discussion. Twelve pages.

36. The Heptasoph, devoted to the interests and advancement of the Order of S. W. M. (Seven Wise Men); published on the 15th of every month under the supervision of the Supreme Conclave of the United States, at No. 56 Camp Street, L. R. Simmons & Co., printers, New Orleans. v. 1 no. 1-10 //? Apr.-Jan., 1870 //? 30x43 cm.

Editors: Anthony Sambola, Grand Chief of La. Conclave. Alfred Shaw, Grand Secretary.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 4 (July, 1869), 10 (Jan., 1870).

Notes: A lodge journal, but besides lodge news has verse contributions and "lodge" fiction. Also exchange notices of other journals and magazines. Eight pages.

37. The Herald, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant"; issued monthly by The Covenanters of the First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-4 //? June?-Oct., 1900 //? 231/2x31 cm.

Editors: David MacL. Davidson and Frank W. Hart.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 3-5 (Aug.-Oct., 1900).

Notes: Stories, travel letters, verse, brief studies, such as one on Addison and Steele in no. 3. Most of these by the editors. Four pages.

38. Hertzberg's Weekly, short stories, shorter verse, shortest epigrams, and no obituaries, brief reviews, briefer critiques, briefest comment; published every Saturday by American Printing Co., New Orleans.
v. 1-v. 3 no. 24 //? Mar. 28, 1908-Jan. 15, 1910 //?

23½x31 cm.

Editor: H. R. R. Hertzberg.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 2, 5, 10, 11, 13, 14, 18; v. 2 no. 4, 5, 17, 22; v. 3 no. 14, 24 (Jan. 15, 1910).

Notes: Some numbers contain articles on Norse Gods and Heroes, and Old German Lore. Divisions called World's Affairs and Beyond the Footlights, stage preview and review. V. 1 no. 2 states purpose to publish from time to time translations from French and German authors. There are some of Hertzberg's translations from Heine.

39. The Holy Family, a weekly journal for home and school; published by the Society of the Holy Spirit, of New Orleans, La., under the patronage of the Holy Family. v. 1-v. 5 no. 21 //? 188?-Dec. 15, 1899 //? 26x36 cm.

Editor: Frank McGloin.

Holdings: LNH v. 5 no. 21 (Dec. 15, 1889).

Notes: Stories and verse. Selected articles. Eight pages.

40. Ideal American Magazine, patriotic, religious, literary; published by Epworth League Italian Mission (?), New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 4 no. 14 //? Sept., 1897?-June, 1902 //? Monthly. 17x26 cm.

Editor: Rev. Joseph Vital.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 2-3 (Oct.-Nov., 1897); v. 2 no. 4 (Apr., 1898); v. 4 no. 13-14 (May-June, 1902).

Notes: Almost violently anti-Catholic. A Protestant missionary journal especially for Italians. Some Italian.

41. The Jewish Chronicle, a weekly journal for Jewish families; published by the Jewish Chronicle Company, A. J. Hollander, Bus. Mgr., New Orleans.
v. 1 no. 1-4 //? Jan., 1890 //? 27x37 cm.

Editors: Rabbi Max Heller. Leop. Sparger, local editor.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 4 (Jan. 24, 1890).

Notes: A magazine for the Jewish home. Department for children. News items, personals. Religious stories. Twelve pages.

I have seen v. 3 no. 32 (June 6, 1902) of a magazine bearing the title Jewish Chronicle, but this was published at Montgomery, Ala., with Moses P. Jacobson, of Shreveport, La., as editor. A later continuation of the same magazine?

42. The Jewish Times, devoted to items of interest and entertaining topics; issued weekly by Sam B. Hollander, proprietor, New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-4 //? Mar. 23?-Apr. 13, 1894 //? 281/2x44 cm.

Editors: Sam B. Hollander; Maurice Switzer, asst. ed.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 4 (Apr. 13, 1894).

Notes: Chiefly Jewish interest. Dramatic and Musical section. In no. 4 article on The Beth Hammerdrash, house of study, from studies of Jewish Customs of Home Life as Practiced in Other Days.

43. Johnny on the Spot, short stories, very short verse, extremely short essays, stage doings, terse, twinkling, tattle, and no obituaries: a weekly periodical devoted to light literature and everything that claims devotion; published by H. R. R. Hertzberg, editor and proprietor, New Orleans. v. 1 no. 1-5 //? Feb. 1-Mar. 1, 1902 //? 24x31 cm.

Editor: H. R. R. Hertzberg.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-5 (Feb. 1-Mar. 1, 1902). LNSM v. 1 no. 4 (Feb. 22, 1902).

Notes: Successor to Gas (33). Hertzberg and Taylor disagreed, particularly about theatrical reviews—though not in an unfriendly way—and Hertzberg undertook his own journal, taking over the paid-up subscriptions to Gas. Chief interest in stage reviews, which are piquant and attractive. Twelve pages.

44. The Jolly Joker, an independent, up-to-date humorous journal; published semi-monthly at 630 Poydras St., New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 2 no. 3 //? Jan., 1899-Jan. 13, 1900 //? Illustrated. 25x34½ cm.

Editor: Edwin D. Elliott, editor and proprietor.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 2, 6, 16, 22 (Jan. 15-Nov. 6, 1899); v. 2 no. 3 (Jan. 13, 1900).

Notes: Became weekly soon after Sept. 1, 1899. Cartoons, jokes. Original contributions in verse and prose printed in Scrapbook. Local politics. Twelve to eighteen pages.

45. Krauss' Southerner; a monthly magazine edited by Miss Daisy Turney Krauss, New Orleans.

Introductory no. //? May, 1906 //? 18x25 cm.

Illustrated.

Editor: Miss Daisy Turney Krauss.

Holdings: LNH Introductory and prospectus number, May 1, 1906.

Notes: The magazine was to make its first regular appearance in June, and was to devote its principal pages to "short sketches, biographical and otherwise," of the leading men and women of the South; also short stories by Southern writers. The Prospectus is dedicated to the Soldiers in Gray who met in New Orleans in April 1906. It contains portraits of Southern heroes, a story of the war, a sketch or two. Material like that proposed for the regular magazine is found in verse by J. Lewis James, a story by Harold MacGrath, sketches of Men and Women by Lucille Webb Banks, three of them being Miss Helen Pitkin, Judd Mortimer Lewis, with selections from his poetry, and Caroline Stannard Tilton. Thirty-two pages.

46. The Laborer, a review of scientific, medical, artistic and industrial progress, and miscellaneous literature; edited and published by David Wilde and W. H. Pemberton, New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1 //? May, 1884 //? 23½x29½ cm. Monthly. Illustrated.

Editors: David Wilde and W. H. Pemberton.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1 (May, 1884).

Notes: First page title, A Monthly Review devoted to Commercial, Industrial and Social Progress. Designed as a journal for furtherance of labor party, to replace The Workman, published in New Orleans by combination of trade unions. First number shows literary, artistic and scientific interests. Two articles on medical progress and the Medical Library at Washington; a section to fine arts, with an account and paintings of Raphael Sanzio; sketches; section of Men of the Day; verse. Sixteen pages.

47. The Ladies' Companion, devoted to the promotion of the higher life of women and the home; published by C. H. Crawford, New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-8 //? Sept., 1892-Apr., 1893 //? Monthly. Illustrated. 23x30 cm.

Editor: Miss Thekla Crawford, assisted by a corps of associate and department editors.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 5 (Jan., 1893), 6 (Feb., 1893), 8 (Apr., 1893).

Notes: Besides verse contributions and selections, and stories, there are departments of Woman's Christian Work, Home-Making, Mother and Child, Home Dressmaking, Home Decoration, The Doctor's Corner, The Kitchen Garden, each with its editor. Fashion plates. Mrs. Elizabeth L. Saxon contributes verse. Sixteen pages.

48. The Lantern, politics, amusements, literature; published weekly by the Lantern Publishing Co., New Orleans. v. 1-v. 7 no. 46 //? Sept. 8, 1886-Nov. 16, 1889 //? Illustrated. 27x36 cm.

Editors: Geo. E. Upham; S. W. Bennett, Mgr.; Joe T. Mulvey editor in May, 1888.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-10, 17 (Sept. 8-Dec. 29, 1886); v. 2 no. 1-25 (Jan. 8-June 25, 1887); v. 3 no. 1-9, 11, 13-15, 17-32, 45 (July 9, 1887-May 5, 1888); v. 5 no. 26 (Nov. 24, 1888); v. 6 no. 2, 14, 29 (Jan. 12-July 20, 1889); v. 7 no. 46 (Nov. 16, 1889). Notes: First number states that it is "to be devoted to the propagation and dissemination of useful knowledge and beneficial information on all questions of the hour bearing on the interests of the people of New Orleans and vicinity, including politics, literature, art, science and amusements, as well as commerce and trade, and to the correction of existing evils in the political, social and commercial world." It was an exposer of practically everything. Biting cartoons. Stage and sport sections.

49. Latin-America, a periodical for the promotion and interchange of commerce between the United States and the Latin-American republics; published semi-monthly at New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 4 no. 12 //? Mar., 1911-Mar., 1915 //? Illustrated. 26x33 cm.

Editor: Gen. E. A. Lever.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 3-25; v. 2 no. 2-12; v. 4 no. 7-12. Notes: Commercial journal with English and Spanish sections.

50. Light, a quarterly magazine devoted to religion, science, literature, art; published by the Society of the Holy Spirit, New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 5 no. 3 //? Oct., 1900-Apr., 1905 //? 15x23 cm.

Editor: None given.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-3; v. 2 no. 1-3; v. 3 no. 1; v. 4 no. 2-4; v. 5 no. 2, 3 (Apr., 1905).

Notes: Table of contents shows this material: Editorials, Scientific, Natural History, Historical, Poetry, Legends, Short Stories. Great deal of material selected. Society of Holy Spirit a Catholic Tract society. Place of publication moved from New Orleans to the Catholic School at Kenner, La., between April, 1902, and Jan., 1904.

51. The Lodestar, made up of dreams and dynamite; published by Covington Hall, New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1 // Jan., 1915 // 11x15 cm. Monthly.

Editor: Covington Hall. Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1. Notes: "A magazine of Rebel thought." Published as Rebellion beginning Mar., 1915. See entry 87.

52. La Lorgnette, revue des theatres, courrier des salons, journal des artistes; semi-weekly journal published at Nouvelle-Orléans.

v. 1 no. 31 //? 1841-Apr. 20, 1843 //? 25x36 cm.

Editors: L. Placide Canonge; James Foulhouze, beginning Feb. 23, 1843.

Holdings: LNH v. 2 no. 49 (Dec. 11, 1842); v. 3 no. for Jan.-Apr. 2, 1843, and no. 28-31 (Apr. 9-20, 1843). LNSM v. 2 no. 41 (Nov. 13, 1842).

Notes: Review of theatricals. Verse, Biographical sketches. Feuilleton section part of time. Illustrations occasionally. Four pages.

53. Louisiana Journal of Education, devoted to the interests of education, public and private, at home and abroad; published by Robt. M. Lusher and William O. Rogers, New Orleans.

v. 1-9 // Apr., 1879-Apr., 1888 // 17x24½ cm. Monthly except two of summer months. Sometimes July omitted, sometimes not.

Editors: Robt. M. Lusher, 1879-83; William O. Rogers, 1879-88; Wm. Preston Johnston and Richard Henry Jesse associate editors to Rogers, 1884-88.

Holdings: LNH v. 1-5; v. 6 no. 2-5, 8-10; v. 7 no. 2-4, 6, 8-10; v. 8 no. 1-8, 10; v. 9 no. 1-9. LNT v. 1-9.

Notes: At time of its beginning there was only one other Educational Journal south of Ohio River. Educational problems and discussions by leading educators of city and state. Educational records, local and others. Studies and material of value in the home for the student as well as for the teacher. Book reviews and notices, especially of school books. Notices and reviews of magazines. Verse by "Adidnac" and Johnston. Robert Sharp a contributor. Indexes to v. 7, 8, 9. Thirty-six pages. Official organ of Louisiana Educational Association and Louisiana Educational Society after their founding.

- 54. Louisiana School Review, devoted to the interest of the teachers of Louisiana and the South. Official organ of Louisiana State Teachers' Association. Published monthly except during July and August at New Orleans. v. 1-v. 15 no. 1 //? Apr., 1895?-Sept. 1907 //? 15x23 cm.
  - Editors: J. E. Keeney, editor before removal to New Orleans, and in 1900; B. C. Caldwell in 1898; E. L. Stephens, Lafayette, in 1906.
  - Holdings: LNH v. 3 no. 8 (Apr., 1898); v. 8 no. 2, 4 (Oct. and Dec., 1900); v. 13 no. 4 (Feb., 1906); v. 14 no. 2 (Oct., 1906); v. 15 no. 1 (Sept., 1907). LNSM v. 13 no. 7 (May, 1906).
  - Notes: Published under Keeney at Natchitoches. Moved to New Orleans sometime after 1900. V. 14 no. 2 carries announcements of forthcoming series of articles by William Beer, Howard Memorial Librarian, on A History of Libraries in Louisiana. Book reviews. Verse. About forty pages.
- 55. Louisiana State Agricultural & Mechanical College Journal, devoted to Scientific and Practical Education in Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts; set up by the cadets of the college as part of their practical education, New Orleans. v. 1 no. 1-3 //? June?-Aug., 1874 //? 21½x29½ cm. Monthly.

Editor: Prof. Thos. Nicholson, M.D., and an editorial committee.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 3 (Aug., 1874).

- Notes: Some selected articles and verse, but principally articles and notes on scientific and medical matters. Sixteen pages. See Nicholson in connection with Good Health and Mental Bliss, entry 34.
- 56. The Mascot, an independent journal of the day; published weekly by the Mascot Publishing Company, New Orleans.
  v. 1-no. 676 //? Feb., 1882-Feb. 2, 1895 //?
  Cartoon illustrations. 24x31 cm.

Editors: None given, but evidently by the proprietors and manager: A. Zumeck, Wm. Mack, and J. S. Bossier. Sometime after 1887 Wm. Mack was proprietor and manager.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 5-8, 11-13, 15, 16, 18, 20-25, 28 (Mar. 18-Aug. 26, 1882); v. 4 no. 100 (Jan. 12, 1884); v. 10 no. 260, 261 (Feb. 12, 1887); v. 12 no. 305-309, 311, 312 (Jan.-Feb., 1888); v. 13 no. 347, 370, 376-381, 388-392, 395-398 (Oct., 1888-Sept., 1889); no. 435, 437, 446, 473, 476, 485, 490, 493, 504, 511, 514, 528, 531, 534, 535, 538, 539, 549-551, 554, 556-560, 591-595, 606-609, 611, 612, 619, 622, 650-652, 657, 660, 662-676 (June, 1890-Feb. 2, 1895).

LNSM no. for Feb., 1882-Jan. 12, 1884; Dec. 19, 1885-Nov. 12, 1887.

Notes: Very similar to The Lantern, but more tabloid, especially in later numbers. Reveals chiefly political scandal and crookedness. Some attacks in verse. Amusement section. Occasionally stage reviews.

57. Men and Matters, a magazine of fact, fancy, and fiction; published at New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 11 no. 1 // Dec., 1894-Dec., 1904 // Monthly. Illustrated. 17x25½ cm.

Editor: Miss Marie Evans.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 3-5, 7-10, 12; v. 2 no. 1-4, 6-12; v. 3 no. 1-5, 10; v. 4; v. 5 no. 1, 4-11; v. 6 no. 1-7, 11, 12; v. 7 no. 3-7, 10-12; v. 8 no. 1-9, 12; v. 9 no. 1, 2, 8, 12; v. 11 no. 1. LNSM v. 2 no. 1; v. 4; v. 8.

Notes: Stories, poetry, sketches, papers, articles on Louisiana and New Orleans industries. Musical and dramatic interests. Critical articles. Illustrated sketches of places of interest in Louisiana and the South. Historical papers. In later volumes more and more attention given to boosting Louisiana. Division of literary discussion called Letters, reviews of books and magazines, conducted by Laurance Hawkins for a time, and later by Alexis Parlonge. Department called Progress of Science conducted by Dr. W. Laurance Stevenson. Contributors: George

Augustin, Marcia Davies, Charles P. Dimitry, A. J. Drysdale, J. S. Kendall, James Kenner (K. St. James), Rixford Lincoln, Mary Belle Poole, E. J. Preston, H. J. Strong. Publication interrupted from time to time by illness of Miss Evans.

58. Mercurio, revista mensual ilustrada dé actualidades ciencias, artes, crítica, viajes, politica, industrias, modas, etc.; published monthly by the Mercurio Publishing Company, New Orleans.

v. 1-32 //? July? 1911-Dec., 1927 //? 231/2x31 cm.

Editors: Enrique Dusolier Lareolla; Jose Llado de Cosso; F. Patron in 1926.

Holdings: LNH v. 8 no. 42-44 (Feb.-Apr., 1915); v. 10 no. 54; v. 11 no. 59; v. 14 no. 81; v. 29 no. 176 (Apr., 1926). LNP v. 4-18, 20-32 (Jan. 1913-Dec., 1927).

LNT v. 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12-24 (incomplete).

Notes: Bibliographical page each month. Verse. An English section in 1926. Great many illustrations.

59. The Miscellany, industrial, commercial, development of our resources, agricultural, literary, the fireside, wide-awake, and progressive; monthly magazine published under the auspices of the Louisiana Sugar Planters' Association by A. Bouchereau, New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 3 no. 9 //? 1887-Oct., 1889 //? 15x221/2 cm.

Editor: A. Bouchereau.

Holdings: LNH v. 3 no. 9 (Oct., 1889).

Notes: Established in 1887 under the name and auspices of the Louisiana Sugar Planters' Association. Superseded Proceedings and Essays of the Louisiana Sugar Planters' Association, 1887-Mar., 1889? "Established in 1887 under (etc) . . ., subsequently under the name of The Miscellany, in order to embody the above enumerated features, making the publication of interest to the public in general, thereby giving the work a wider circulation." Contains monthly proceedings of Louisiana Sugar Planting Association. Chiefly of commercial interest. English and Spanish sections.

60. The Mississippi Valley Voice; published monthly at New Orleans.

v. 1-? 19?-Nov., 1916 //? 18x26 cm.

Editor: Mrs. Marie Louise Benton Bankston?

Holdings: LNH one number, Fair no., for Nov., 1916.

Notes: Division called Editor's Half-hour with Shakespeare. This number contains address by Edw. Alex. Parsons delivered at New Orleans celebration of Shakespeare Tercentenary, Tulane Theatre, May 1, 1916. Brief reviews by L. Graham Company.

61. Nature's Finer Forces Library; published monthly at New Orleans, La., by Swami Myeananda.

v. 1 no. 1-5 //? Nov.?, 1898-Mar., 1899 //? 15x23 cm.

Editor: Swami Myeananda, or Joseph Maille?

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 5 (Mar., 1899).

Notes: A magazine of "occultism" and "unfoldment of the spiritual." Contains an editorial, Definitions of Certain Words, Reading of Past Lives, and answers by Swami to questions of conduct in the light of occultism. Swami seems to be the guiding spirit who has attained immortality and lays down the rules for others. A note on back front cover says "Address all communications and remittances to Joseph Maille, 126 Carondelet, New Orleans, La., who has charge of all our affairs." Copyrighted.

62. The New Citizen; published by the Era Club of New Orleans, to promote the equal participation of men and women in the social and civic development of our counttry. Published monthly except during the months of July, Aug., and Sept.

v. 1-v. 3 no. 6 //? Jan., 1912-Apr., 1914 //? 20x271/2 cm.

Editor: Tinette Lichenstein Moses.

Holdings: LNH v. 3 no. 1-6 (Nov., 1913-Apr., 1914). LNSM v. 1 no. 1-9 (Jan.-Dec., 1912); v. 2 no. 1-5 (Feb.-June, 1913); v. 3 no. 1, 3-5 (Nov., 1913, Jan.-Mar., 1914).

Notes: Woman suffrage magazine. Some book reviews.

63. The New Orleanian; published weekly at 432 Whitney Building, New Orleans, by Will Branan.
v. 1- . Sept. 6, 1930- . 22½x30 cm.
Semi-monthly beginning Nov., 1930. Illustrated.

Editors: Will Branan; Kenneth T. Knobloch, Asst. Ed.; John Class, Asst. Ed.; Maurice Ries, Lit. Ed.; Natalie Vivian Scott, Soc. Ed.; Mildred Kohlman, Fashion Ed.

Holdings: LNH v. 1- LNSM nos. for Sept., 1930-Oct., 1931; Dec., 1931; Feb., 1932. LNT v. 1.

Notes: Sophisticated society and literary journal. V. 2 begins with Jan., 1931.

64. The New Orleans Advocate and Journal of Education; published by Thomas W. Conway, proprietor, New Orleans. v. 1 no. 1-22 //? Jan. 12, 1870- Apr. 22, 1871 //? 23½x33 cm.

Issued irregularly, sometimes three times a month, sometimes once.

Editors: Thomas W. Conway; M. C. Cole, Asst. Ed.; Wm. Rollinson, Religious Ed. for short time.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-22.

Notes: A continuation of The New Orleans Advocate (begun in 1867, according to the Union List of Serials) formerly published by Rev. John P. Newman, D.D. (Methodist Episcopal), under Conway, State Superintendent of Public Education, and Cole, Secretary. Political as well as educational interest. Verse. Notices of books and publishing houses. Religious department discontinued after short time. Twelve pages. No issue from Dec. 28, 1870, till April 22, 1871. In number for April 22 Conway announces that publication will continue under title of The New Orleans Journal, devoted to literature, politics and public education, "and will aim to be the foremost Republican weekly in the State."

65. The New Orleans Home Journal, a magazine of stories, songs and pictures for children; published by Laundry and Dry Cleaning Service Inc. of New Orleans.

Summer 1925-Christmas 1929 //? 23x30½ cm.
Issued irregularly.

Editor: B. C. McClellan?

Holdings: LNH Summer 1925, Spring 1926, Spring 1927 (no. 4), Fall 1928, Christmas 1929.

Notes: Some stories of old places in New Orleans.

66. New Orleans Illustrated News, the South's most beautiful magazine; published monthly by Illustrated News Pub. Co., Inc., New Orleans.

v. 1-3 //? Dec., 1919-May, 1922 //? 26x351/2 cm.

Editors: Charles E. Gilbert, Jr., Managing Director. Associate Eds.: Mrs. James Oscar Nixon and Mrs. Geo. B. Penrose, until Apr., 1921. After that Gilbert, editor and publisher.

Holdings: LNH v. 1-3. LNSM v. 2 no. 7 (June, 1921); v. 3 no. 3 (Feb., 1922).

Notes: Society, news, opera, pictures, amusements. Sketches of old places and people of New Orleans, chiefly by Mrs. Nixon. Some fiction. About thirty pages. Became weekly Apr. 22, 1922 (v. 3 no. 20).

67. New Orleans Life, the interesting magazine of the South; published by New Orleans Life Publishing Company, Inc., New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 2 no. 11 // Jan., 1925-Aug., 1927 // Monthly. Illustrated. 23x30 cm.

Editors: Helen Eva Yates, Jan., 1925-Jan., 1926; Louise Lafaye Harris, Nov., 1925-Apr., 1926; Mrs. E. A. Fowler, June, 1926-Jan., 1927; Frances B. Fowler, Feb.-Mar., 1927; Stanley Kimmel, May-Aug., 1927.

Holdings: LNH complete except v. 1 no. 1, 2, 6.

LNSM v. 1 no. 1-2, 10 (Jan.-Feb., 1925, Jan., 1926); v. 2 no. 8-10 (May-July, 1927).

LNT v. 2 no. 8, 9.

Notes: Society magazine. Book reviews and notices. Serial numbers mixed. Revived as The Orleanian in Dec., 1927. See entry 77.

68. The New Orleans Magazine, poetry, prose, fiction and fact; published by Charles J. Colton and Miss Regina Morphy, New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-11 //? Jan.-Nov., 1898 //? 17x251/2 cm.

Editors: Charles J. Colton and Miss Regina Morphy.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 9-11.

Notes: This is the Colton-Morphy Magazine under another title. See entry 9. Miss Morphy's Creole Magazine for May, 1899, says that The New Orleans Magazine came to an end several months before. See entry 15.

69. New Orleans Monthly Review; published by Daniel K. Whitaker, New Orleans.

v. 1-3 //? Apr., 1874-Aug., 1876 //? 14x21½ cm. Superseded by New Orleans Quarterly Review in 1878. See entry 71.

Editor: Daniel Kimball Whitaker, LL.D. (1801-81).

Holdings: LNH v. 1-3. LNP v. 1-3. LNSM v. 1-3.

Notes: The Editor's Salutatory, v. 1 no. 1, speaks of the opportunity afforded the press for helping conditions, comparing the condition of the South to that of England at the time of the founding of the Edinburgh and London Quarterly Reviews. He hopes that his review will occupy the same position in the South that those do in England. To publish lectures of the Academy of Sciences. Invites reviews and contributions from thinkers, male and female, of the city and South. Plans to devote attention to commerce also.

V. 1 no. 1 contains, besides above, three reviews, four selections of verse, one story, a paper on the Administration of Criminal Law in New Orleans, an imitation of Ossian, a St. Patrick's Day address, an account of the Burns Festival held by St. Andrews Society of New Orleans, and four short essays, all signed with pennames. V. 1 no. 2, in page on Reception of Our First Number, says that it caused no sensation, a daily noting that its articles were much above the average of magazines, and a religious weekly that they were much below. The poems especially were well-liked. Several short book

notices, half to whole page, in this number; a continued feature hereafter. V. 1 no. 5 begins a series of papers on Authors Read by Our Grandmothers; Mrs. Inchbald and Mrs. Aphra Behn in these. Literary studies by Ashton Phelps, Edward C. Hancock, and "Ashley" (Mrs. M. S. Whitaker), the author of Albert Hastings. Verse contributions by "Adidnac," "Aquila," "Delta," Mrs. Anna P. Dinnies, Hugh More.

Publication suspended from Aug., 1874, to Jan., 1875, while Prof. Whitaker was getting subscriptions in Texas. No issue from April to July, 1876.

70. The New Orleans Noesis, or Journal of Intellectual Amusement: popular literature, science, and arts. Printed at the office of the Creole, No. 94 Camp Street, New Orleans. v. 1 no. 1 //? June, 1854 //? 15x25 cm. Monthly. Illustrated.

Editor: Capt. Anthony Walshe, R.A.S., late Royal Irish Fusiliers.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1 (6 pages missing).

Notes: In the Address to the Readers editor states purpose of filling the hiatus in Southern journalism, proposing to take Chambers' Edinburgh Journal as his model and aiming to make The Noesis the same to the South that that is to Scotland. "Besides affording the usual matter of a journal devoted to popular literary amusement, we present reviews of Books and a monthly gossipping sketch of Science and Arts." Has agents in Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia, and is prepared to execute commissions for patrons. Desirous of helping worthy teachers to secure positions and of benefiting their social position. (Capt. Walshe was connected with a Southern military college.) Also, latest Parisian fashions, having made arrangement for monthly receipt of wood engravings. First number contains 32 pages of original and selected material, verse and prose. Two engravings. Quotes this comment from the Semi-weekly Creole of May 24: "Harper is a mere compilation; the Noesis has as much originality, and contains quite as readable articles."

71. The New Orleans Quarterly Review; published by W. L. Murray, New Orleans.

no. 1 //? Jan., 1878 //? 141/2x22 cm.

Preceded by New Orleans Monthly Review. See entry 69.

Editor: Daniel K. Whitaker, LL.D. (1801-81), editor and proprietor.

Holdings: LNH no. 1. LNP no. 1.

Notes: in the Prospectus the editor gives reasons for changing the New Orleans Monthly Review to a quarterly, and states that it will continue the main objects of the former work: "to give expression to the well considered views of the best thinkers and ablest writers among us, on subjects of paramount interest connected with government, commerce, literature, art and science, and especially to furnish an exponent of the culture and intellectual taste of this great Southern centre of the North American Union." Will also include sketches, tales, biographies, essays, poetry and notices of new publications. Each number to contain not less than 200 octavo pages. Material same as that of Monthly Review. Same contributors. An interesting review is that of a poem, "Catherinete Gahkwitha, the Saint of Caughnawaga," by Chata-Ima, an Indian prince-poet. There are comments on it from Longfellow, Bryant and Gayarré.

72. New Orleans Topics, what's doing in New Orleans; published monthly by New Orleans Publishing Company, New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1 //? Aug., 1924 //? 23x31 cm.

Editor: William Morgan Hannon.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1.

73. L'Observateur Louisianais, revue mensuelle religieuse, politique et litteraire; Nouvelle-Orléans.

v. 1-6 // 1892-1897 // 15x23 cm.

Editor: Rev. Pere F. Rougé.

Holdings: LNH v. 1-6. LNSM v. 2 no. 1; v. 4 no. 2, 5, 7.

Notes: The Programme, as announced in first number, states that there will be a Chronique or Résumé du Mois,

which will review briefly the news of the world, political, religious and economical; religious, philosophical and social studies; historical studies, with special emphasis on United States and Louisiana history; a section of Mélanges will contain articles of the moment political, literary, economic, biography, institutional, accounts of social events, religious fêtes, etc.; finally, there will be a bibliographical part, containing reviews and appreciations of old and new works. To be a means of helping keep the French language firm in Louisiana and the United States. Monthly Revue de la Presse. Original stories and sketches. Letters from Rome. Catholic interest. Material of value and interest. M. J. G. de Baroncelli was in charge of the administration after Feb., 1895. The last number announces the end of the publication, brought about by a declaration of the last Archevêque to New Orleans.

74. Olivette, a journal of wit, humor, literature and gossip; published by the Olivette Publishing Company, New Orleans. v. 1 no. 1-2 //? July 11-18, 1882 //? 24x32 cm. Weekly. Cover cartoons.

Editor: None given.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 2 (July 18, 1882).

Notes: Principally a news journal. Briefs of politics, local, national and foreign. Random sentence notices of books and plays. Eight pages.

75. On Dit, devoted to all things pertaining to society, an exponent of the drama and an advocate of all measures that would tend to advance the welfare of the South and the betterment of mankind; published by Mrs. F. Maud Saks, New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-3 //? Mar.-May, 1906 //? 19x28 cm. Monthly. Illustrated.

Editor: Mrs. F. Maud Saks.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-3.

Notes: A society magazine. Sketches of society leaders, social events, etc. Attention to drama. Some verse, chiefly by the editor. Some literary sketches. A little French. About forty pages per issue.

76. L'Opéra et ses Hôtes; sous la direction: G. de Beauplan.
Album Illustré avec photographies et esquisses biographiques par F. Armant; edité à l'Imprimerie du Croissant, 123 Rue de Chartres, Nouvelle-Orléans.

no. 1-5 // 1881 // 311/2x44 cm.

Issued at intervals during the season of 1881.

Editor: F. Armant.

Holdings: LNH no. 1-5. LNSM ler livraison.

Notes: Purpose of album was to give information about Beauplan's company, as well as to review the operas presented during the season of 1880-81. Photographs of members of the company, with a sketch and short biography. No. 2 begins a review of the opera in New Orleans since the 1831-32 season. Scenes from "Aida" and "Carmen," done in colors by J. H. Dowling, in no. 1 and no. 2 respectively. Photographs by Adams and Simon.

 The Orleanian (formerly New Orleans Life); published by New Orleans Life Publishing Company, Inc., New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-2 // Dec., 1927-Jan., 1928 // 23x30 cm. Monthly. Illustrated.

Editors: James E. Edmonds II; John McClure and Kenneth T. O'Hara, contributing editors.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-2. LNSM v. 1 no. 2.

Notes: Continuation of New Orleans Life. See entry 67.

78. Our Home Journal, illustrated weekly devoted to the industrial pursuits of the South: Agriculture, Commerce, News, Manufactures, Art, Literature, Science; published by James H. Hummel, 106 Camp St., New Orleans. v. 1-10 //? Jan., 1871-Dec., 1875 //? 23½x32 cm.

Editor: James H. Hummel.

Holdings: LNH v. 1-9. LNP v. 1, 3-7, 9, 10 (Jan., 1871-Dec., 1875). LNSM v. 4 no. for Dec. 28, 1872; v. 8 no. 10 (Sept. 5, 1874).

Notes: Devoted chiefly to agriculture and horticulture. Small section of Amusements, Books, Music. Verse. Series of articles on birds, with illustrations. Notes on foreign things of interest, as habits, etc. Indexes at ends of volumes.

Combined with Rural Southland in 1873 or 1874, with Hummel as publisher and managing editor. See entry 93.

Notice of The Weekly Budget, a Literary, Family and News Journal, a new journal of Hummel's, containing stories, news, etc. See entry 115.

79. Our Portfolio; a monthly journal edited by members of the Stonewall Literary Association of the Central High School, New Orleans.

v.1 no. 1 //? June, 1868 //? 23x30 cm.

Editors: Sam. W. Small and Lionel Adams.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1.

Notes: Student contributions. Verse, stories, sketches. Four pages.

80. The Owl, official organ of the Young Men's Hebrew Association; published monthly by M. G. Liberman, New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 8 no. 6 //? Dec., 1895-Nov., 1899 //? Illustrated. 24x31½ cm.

Editor: Maurice Switzer.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 2 (Jan., 1896); v. 2 no. 3 (Aug., 1896), 4 (Sept. 1896); v. 3 no. 1, 5-6 (Dec., 1896, Apr.-May, 1897); v. 5 no. 6 (May, 1898); v. 8 no. 5-6 (Oct.-Nov., 1899).

Notes: Stories, brief notes. Verse by Chas. J. Colton. Originally published and distributed free of charge; beginning of subscription rates in v. 2 no. 3.

81. Pan-American Review, devoted to the developing, creating and increasing of the commerce, industries, finances, mining, agriculture, etc., of the countries of Latin America with the United States; published semi-monthly by Dr. R. Guzman, New Orleans.

v. 1-11 //? 1910-June, 1916 //? 24x31½ cm. Illustrated. Became monthly in 1911.

Editor: Dr. R. Guzman.

Holdings: LNH v. 2 no. 4, 6; v. 3 no. 2; v. 5 no. 3; v. 6

no. 6; v. 11 no. 11 (May, 1916).

Notes: Spanish and English sections. On changing to monthly carried this sub-title, A Monthly Review of Central and South American Affairs.

82. The Parlor Magazine, devoted to literature, science and general intelligence; printed by E. C. Wharton, 41 Camp Street, New Orleans.

> v. 1 no. 1-2 //? Jan.-Feb., 1857 //? 14x22 cm. Monthly.

Editor: Mrs. V. E. Wilhelmine McCord.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-2.

Notes: The magazine was originally published at Memphis, or was meant to be, but moved to New Orleans, where it made its first appearance in v. 1 New Series, no. 1, Jan., 1857. A literary magazine whose editress is bitter in her denunciations of Northern attacks on the South and slavery. Contains: Poetry, essays, sketches, stories, editorials, book notices and short reviews, theatrical and art notices, fashions. A dramatic sketch. Writings from authors recently dead, as Ben Fox's "Literary Half-hours," some reprinted from the Sunday Delta, and an essay on "Drinking and Smoking" by Prof. J. Crawford. A list of two dozen or more contributors on front cover. No. 1 has sixty-three pages of matter; no. 2, forty-eight.

83. The Pioneer, for progress and prosperity; monthly illustrated magazine published at New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1 //? July 15, 1908 //? 27x39½ cm.

Editor: Henry Noble Hall. Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1.

Notes: Contains: Article on New Orleans and Latin-American Trade, by Crawford H. Ellis; The Cacogenesis of Castro; Helping the Helpless, by Miss Margery Dare; If I Were a Legislator, by Miss Jean M. Gordon; translations from French; Books of the Hour and Books of All Time; A Day's Sport on the Caroni, experiences of newspaperman on snake hunting trip in tropical America, by R. R. Mole; French and English verse; French Woman's Fashion Notes.

84. The Present Age, an illustrated quarterly magazine, devoted to agriculture and literature; published at New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 2 no. 3 //? Nov.?, 1870-July, 1872 //? new series (?) v. 1 no. 1 (Nov., 1881). 15x22 cm.

Editor: James E. Waldo.

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Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 2 (Feb., 1871); v. 2 no. 3 (July, 1872); v. 1 no. 1 (Nov., 1881), (new series?).

Notes: V. 1 no. 1 (Nov., 1881), with J. Curtis Waldo as editor and proprietor, states that magazine was established in 1869. Accounts of fairs, business houses, etc., of interest to farmers. Literary section contains fiction, verse and stories for children. A Fashion Gossip department. V. 1 no. 2 contains short article on Art and Art Galleries by Melvin M. Cohen, and another on Dante Gabriel Rossetti's English Poems by "Drop Shot." The Editor's Scrap Basket contains notices to contributors and, in one or two instances, notices of other magazines.

85. Le Propagateur Catholique, journal des familles; rédigé par une société d'hommes de lettres, Nouvelle-Orléans. v. 1-? No. 12, 1842-1888? //? 13½x22 cm. Weekly.

Editors: Abbé M. N. J. Perché, 1842-?; M. J. Bayon, old editor of l'Abeille, has charge of "direction of material" in 1842; Father Kane, 18? until his death in 1873-4?; A. Lutton, 1875-6; F. L. Lafargue, 1877-88.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-26 (Nov. 12, 1842-May 6, 1843). LNSM Irregular numbers from Oct. 15, 1870, to Mar. 1, 1884, which I have not been able to see.

Notes: Alexandre Belisle, in his Histoire de la Presse Franco-Americaine, 1911, and the Wisconsin Newspaper Catalog, 1911, say that is was possibly founded in 1810. There is no indication of this in the numbers I have seen. From the Wisconsin Catalog I have this information: Published by A. Lutton 1875-6, by Le Propagateur Co. 1877-88; edited by Lutton 1875-6, by L. Lafargue 1877-88. Suspended 1888.

Title from Société Catholique pour la Propagation de la morale chrétienne, a society wnich, the first number says, is beginning to take shape and is, at that present time, organized in the city. The interest is to be primarily religious, and political and commercial news will not find its way into the columns except in so far as it is of religious significance. Letters and science will receive consideration. Another object is the preservation of the French language in Louisiana.

No. 1 gives the form and make-up the journal is to take: It is to appear every Saturday afternoon. contents will be: 1. a religious editorial; 2. a calendar of fetes of the week celebrated by the church, accompanied by an explanation of one of the mysteries or by a notice on one of the saints celebrated during the week; 3. following the Calendrier Catholique will appear articles of literature, science or history that bear on religion; 4. under the title Nouvelles Religeuses will appear items of interest to Catholics on the state of Catholicism at home and abroad; 5. these notices will be followed by the feuilleton section, under the title Variétés, which will contain purely literary pieces, both prose and poetry, that have been contributed and accepted by the editorial committee; 6. finally, such advertisements and announcements as are not contrary to the purposes of the journal, will be printed at the end. Beginning with no. 2 there is a series of five editorials on the Religious Periodical Press. There is an index to v. 1. V. 1 no. 19 (Mar. 18, 1843) carries notice of new publication, L'Economiste, imprimé à la Nouvelle-Orléans, et annoncé comme 'revue encyclopédique et méthodique de toutes les connaissances usuelles et practiques'. The writer has seen three numbers of it.

86. Puck Jr.; published once a month by F. J. Brand and J. Louis Madden, New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-2 //? Aug.-Sept., 1892 //?  $28x35\frac{1}{2}$  cm. Cartoon illustrations.

Editors: F. J. Brand and J. Louis Madden.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 2 (Sept., 1892).

Notes: Published in the interest of the Louisiana National Guard. Mimeographed by hand. Cartoons, jokes, and personal notes of interest to guardsmen.

87. Rebellion, made up of dreams and dynamite; published monthly by Covington Hall, New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 2-12 // Mar., 1915-June, 1916 // 11x15 cm. Preceded by The Lodestar.

Editor: Covington Hall.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12 (Mar., 1915-June, 1916).

Notes: Continuation of The Lodestar after a suspension of a month. See entry 51. All the material, verse and prose, is written by Hall.

88. La Renaissance Louisianaise, revue hebdomadaire, politique, scientifique et littéraire, organe des populations Franco-Americaines du sud; published by M. E. Lamuloniere and M. Henri Vignaud, Nouvelle-Orléans.

v. 1-v. 10 no. 29 //? May 5, 1861?-July 24, 1870 //? Weekly. 24x30 cm.

Editors: M. E. Lamuloniere, ed. in chief, 1861-4?; M. Henri Vignaud, Gérant partie littéraire, 1861-?; Emile Lefranc, Eugene Dumez, Eugene Lamuloniere, editors-proprietors in 1862; Emile Lefranc, editor-proprietor, 1864-70.

Holdings: LNH v. 2 no. 15, 22, 23 (Apr.-June, 1862); v. 3 no. 11, 19; v. 4 (Jan.-Dec., 1864); v. 7 no. 10 (July 14, 1867); v. 10 no. 29 (July 24, 1870).

LNSM v. 1 no. 1-19 (May 5-Sept. 8, 1861); numbers from Jan. 7, 1866, to Dec., 1867, inclusive.

Notes: Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Americaine, gives date of beginning as 1858. Each number contains

local, national and foreign news, usually some verse, theatre notices, sometimes sketches, and a regular feuilleton section.

Redacteurs et Collaborateurs: Dr. Bengnot, Ben. Buisson, A. Canonge, P. Canonge, E. D. Cuvallier, C. Dufour, N. Dufour, C. Delery, V. De Bouchel, A. Fabre, Chs. Gayarré, E. Lamuloniere, A. Le Breton, F. Limet, D. Rouquette, Ad. Schreiber, Dr. Trudeau, Thomassy, T. Theard, Paul Villars.

89. La Revista Mercantil de Neuva Orleans, dedicada a los intereses mercantiles de Neuva Orleans e Hispano Americanos; periodico quincenal publicado por E. A. Brandao, Neuva Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-2 //? Feb., 1883 //? 24x31 cm.

Editor: Manuel Aguero.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 2 (Feb. 15, 1883).

Notes: Contains, besides business news, notes of general interest.

 La Revue Louisianaise; publiée par la société littéraire et typographique de la Nouvelle-Orléans, 112 Rue de Chartres.

v. 1-v.7 no. 14 //? Apr. 5, 1846-Dec., 1848 //? Weekly. Illustrated. 14x23 cm.

Editor: None given. P. Boizard?

Holdings: LNH v. 1-v. 7 no. 14. LNSM v. 1 no. 1-26 (Apr.-Sept., 1846); nos. for Apr.-Sept., 1848; v. 6 no. 1-25. LNT v. 1 no. 2-4, 6, 7, 9-14, 16-26; v. 2 no. 1-9, 11, 12, 14-17, 19-23; v. 4 no. 1, 6-26; v. 5; v. 6 no. 1-14; v. 7 no. 5-11, 13, 14.

Notes: The Specimen et Prospectus gives the type as une Revue Littéraire, Artistique et Politique de la Louisiane. States further that it will appear every Sunday morning, contain 24 pages octavo, with printed cover. The material of a year will equal ten ordinary volumes. First pages to be given to reproduction of a literary work; next a political bulletin, summarizing important events of the week. Anecdotes and dramatic events, pleins d'émotion, will come each week from the criminal and

recorder's court. There will be a correspondence department of political, literary and artistic happenings of Paris. A fashionable and artistic chronicle of New Orleans, containing reviews of theatrical productions. To contain biographical sketches and portraits, especially of lawyers of Louisiana. Also, verse and reviews and notices of works published by authors of the country. The columns are open to contributors. Notices of other publications in the city. V. 1 no. 26 (Sept. 27, 1846) has an article on the press in Louisiana, paying special attention to the three papers then published in New Orleans. Last number of v. 1 announces that arrangements have been made for binding for subscribers. Blackprint ornaments and cartoons begin in v. 2. V. 1 no. 7-8 contain a five-act play, Le Comte de Monte-Christo, by L. Placide Canonge. V. 3 is a supplement containing Le Secret de Rome au XIXme Siécle, 1 le peuple, 2 la cour, 3 l'église, par Eugene Briffault, edited by P. Boizard, Contributors: Marie Aycard, D'Artlys, Mme. Emilie Evershed, Gabriel Fury, Chs. Gayarré, Louis Mery, Gerard de Nerval, Ch. Philipon, Jules Sandeau.

 Ridgway's, a militant weekly for God and Country; published by the Ridgway Company, National Realty Bldg., New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-6 //? Oct. 6-Nov. 10, 1906 //? Illustrated. 23x27½ cm.

Editors: Erman J. Ridgway, ed. in chief; Samuel Hopkins Adams, chief editorial writer; Frank Putnam, ed. of New Orleans district.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-6.

Notes: An attempt to publish a magazine simultaneously in ten important cities of the nation, each district having an editor who sends in news to the general staff, whence it is re-flashed to the district offices and published. Chiefly political, but some few stories and poetry. Local items of interest as well. Among writers represented are Anna Hempstead Branch, William H. Brill, Joseph Conrad, Henry C. Rowland, Chas. E. Russell, Frank H. Simmonds.

92. The Rising Generation, a monthly magazine for young folks in their teens and for older folks who have young hearts; published by Horace Vallas, New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-2 //? June-July, 1872 //? 14x231/2 cm.

Editor: Horace Vallas.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-2.

Notes: Selected and original stories and bits of advice for the young. Puzzles and humorous short paragraphs Verse. Musical, Art and Artists, Dramatic, and Literary departments, containing short notices and comments. Prizes offered for short stories by young folks. Vallas is evidently a young fellow himself, since in no. 2 he advertises that his is "the only magazine in the South published and edited by a youth." In no. 2 reference is made to Cornucopia, a monthly magazine edited by Will S. Hillyer, Jr., a boy of 18, but the place of publication is not given.

93. Rural Southland, for town and country, devoted to Agriculture, Horticulture, Manufactures, Literature, Science, and Social Progress; published weekly by The South-Land Co., New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 6 no. 6 //? Sept., 1869?-June, 1873 //? Illustrated. 29x39 cm.

Editors: E. F. Russell; E. K. Manard, assistant; Dr. I. L. Crawcour and Dr. J. S. Copes, in Literary and Scientific departments.

Holdings: LNH v. 4 no. 1-17, 19-26 (Sept. 16, 1871-Mar. 9, 1872); v. 5 no. 1, 4, 6, 8, 11-14 (Mar. 23-Sept. 21, 1872); v. 6 no. 6 (June, 1873).

Notes: Weekly till v. 5; bi-weekly then. V. 6 monthly. Combined with Our Home Journal in 1873 or 1874. See entry 78.

Some interests other than agriculture. Book reviews now and then. Novels at times. Official Journal of the Mechanics' and Agricultural Fair Association of Louisiana. 94. Schoolmates, a monthly magazine devoted to the interests of school children; published by Schoolmates Publishing Co., New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-3 //? Feb.-Apr., 1907 //? 17½x26 cm. Illustrated.

Editor: None given.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-3.

Notes: Contains items of interest to school children, school news, compositions and drawings by the children, monthly honor roll of each school in the city. Also, "Childhood in Shakespeare," studies, by Frank Ellis, of Brutus' page in Julius Caesar, and the two young princes and the children of the Duke Clarence in Richard III.

95. The South Illustrated, devoted to the development of the South; issued monthly by the South Illustrated Pub. Co., New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 4 no. 1 //? June, 1886-June, 1889 //? 28½x39½ cm.

Editors: H. H. Baker and Geo. Moorman.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 2 (July, 1886); v. 3 no. 1 (June, 1888); part of number for June, 1889, which I take for v. 4 no. 1.

Notes: A farming and industrial journal with various departments. One of chief purposes to invite immigration and capital. Sixteen pages. Charter for company granted Dec. 7, 1887.

96. Southern Garden, a monthly journal devoted to horticulture, floriculture, truck farming, etc., in the South; published by the Southern Garden Co., New Orleans.
v. 1 no. 1-2 //? Nov.-Dec., 1894 //? 24x31½ cm.
Illustrated.

Editor: None given.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 2 (Dec., 1894).

Notes: Various departments of gardening. Bits of verse. Contains reports of New Orleans Horticultural Society.

Southern Guardsman; published at New Orleans.
 v. 1-v. 4 no. 4 //? Nov., 1904?-Feb., 1908 //?

Monthly? Illustrated, 17x25 cm.

Editors: None given.

Holdings: LNH v. 4 no. 4 (Feb., 1908). Notes: V. 4 no. 4 devoted to New Orleans.

98. The Southern Magazine, devoted to the interests of the South; published monthly by the Southern Publishing Co., New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1 //? June, 1898 //? 171/2x25 cm. Illustrated.

Editor: None given.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1.

Notes: Announcement is made that the publishers are attempting to get writers to conduct departments of Law, Medicine, Science, Education, etc., and that there will be a full section of fashions henceforward. No. 1 has a large lithograph, "Springtime," folded within front cover. Contents of this number: The Business of Blossoms, with illustrations, by Martha McCulloch Williams; Kisses, verse by Curtis Hidden Page; Stray Leaves from the Book of Nature, with illustrations, by Nellie Hart Woodworth; A Canadian's Opinion of the Sunny South by John Jay Ross; Romance of a Kentuckian in St. Augustine by Maley Bainbridge Crist; Cuban Noncombatants by Frederick A. Ober; Condemned, verse by Mary A. Denison.

 The Southern Monthly Magazine, devoted to literature, science, art and society; published by B. T. Campbell & Co., New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-2 //? Aug.-Sept., 1869 //? 16x25 cm. Illustrated.

Editor: Bartley T. Campbell. Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1, 2.

Notes: Studies, fiction, verse, theatrical notes, sketches, scientific papers. The Sanctum contains notes about literary people, books under execution, criticism, etc. A

section of reviews. Complimented throughout the country for its beautiful typography and excellent literary character. Illustrations by C. F. Tuttle of New Orleans. Evidently a large subscrpition list: order from San Francisco for 1500 copies. About 100 pages each issue. Contributors: Hon. T. J. Bingham, Alice Cary, Amos J. Cummings, B. C. Jillison, F. B. Plimpton, Samuel C. Reid, Edwin South, Mrs. C. E. Stanton, Hon. Alex. H. Stephens, Nathan D. Urner, Mrs. M. S. Whitaker.

100. The Southern Patriot, and The Southern Scribe (consolidated); published monthly by the Patriot Publishing Co., New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1 //? Oct., 1911 //? 27x371/2 cm. Illustrated.

Editor: Dr. J. Benjamin Lawrence.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1 of new series (whole no. 111, Oct., 1911).

Notes: This number announces consolidation of seven weekly magazines into one monthly: Southern Scribe, Good Government, Winfield Commercial, Vicksburg Mirror, Monroe Doctrine, Ruston Telegraph, Shreveport Scribe. The Southern Scribe, a magazine about people, was an illustrated weekly of New Orleans, begun July 3, 1909, and edited for a short time by Alice K. Saint Martin, and later by A. B. Tebbetts. I have not seen any numbers of it. The Patriot contains an art and music section, stories, verse, current comments, news, European letters by R. H. Henry. Twenty-four pages. Contributors: Gilbert Cosulich, Lideon Elibank, "Uncle Josh," Lillian S. Norwell, James Roy, Mrs. Edward B. Summers.

 Southern Quarterly Review; published by the Proprietors, New Orleans.

v. 1-16, Jan., 1842-Jan., 1850; v. 17- (new ser., v. 1-), Apr., 1850- New ser., v. 1 no. 1-2//? Jan.-Apr., 1880//? 15x24 cm.

Editors: 1842-7, Daniel K. Whitaker (1801-81); 1847-9, Milton Clapp; 1849-55, W. G. Simms (1806-70); 1856-, J. H. Thornwell (1812-62); 1880-, Daniel K. Whitaker.

Holdings: LNH new ser., v. 1 no. 2 (Apr., 1880). LNP v. 1-6 (Jan., 1842-Oct., 1844).

Notes: Published in New Orleans, 1842; Charleston, S. C., 1842-55; Columbia, S. C., 1856; New Orleans, 1880. The Union List of Serials has: no. 1-2, Ja., 1879-Ap., 1880 //?

Similar to English reviews. Critical notices on other reviews. Literary announcements. Quarterly list of new publications. V. 1 no. 1 (1842) has a long article on Newspaper and Periodical Press of U. S.

The new series, begun by Whitaker in 1880, has the same material and contributions as the New Orleans Monthly and Quarterly Reviews by the same editor. See entries 69 and 71. Reviews, papers, studies, long poems. About 200 pages.

102. The Southron, the leading humorous illustrated monthly of the South; published by Leon Robert & Co., New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 3 no. 4 //? Sept., 1891-Sept. 9, 1893 //? 23x29 cm.

Editors: Leon Robert, 1891-92; W. H. Mulliken, Jan.-Mar., 1893; W. R. Bryan, Apr., 1893.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-3, 5-12; v. 2 no. 1-5, 7-12 (Aug. 5, 1893); v. 3 no. 1-4.

Notes: Published by W. H. Mulliken, Jan.-Mar., 1893; by W. R. Bryan, Apr., 1893- . Made weekly story sheet by Bryan beginning Aug. 5, 1893. In earlier numbers humorous personal essays, etc. Verse. Sixteen pages.

103. Le Spiritualiste; published monthly by les Spiritualistes de la Nouvelle-Orléans; printed by J. Lamarre, New Orleans. v. 1-2 // Jan., 1857-Dec., 1858 // 14x22 cm.

Editors: Les Spiritualistes.

Holdings: LNH v. 1-2.

Notes: Begun by these Spiritualists for the purpose of propagating the doctrines of Spiritualism and the revelations received at weekly seances. There are, besides the reports of seances, discussions of Spiritualism, mediums, manifestations, etc. The intention was to publish

for at least one year. V. 2 closes with an announcement of the end of the Journal, and some last bits of thought and advice, among them a wish that Le Propagateur Catholique, with which Le Spiritualiste had some disputes, become Christian (nous souhaitons qu'il devienne chrétien), but there is no hate.

Bibliographical notices of works and magazines of similar nature. Errata at end of each volume. Index of two volumes at end of second.

104. Sport in Dixie; published monthly at New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-4 //? Apr.-July, 1909 //? 17½x26 cm. Illustrated.

Editor: H. H. Kopman.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1. LNSM v. 1 no. 1-4 (Apr.-July, 1909).

Notes: Devoted to the interests of outdoor sports, sportsmen, and outdoor enthusiasts generally.

105. The Standard, illustrated Weekly Magazine; published by the Standard Publishing Co., 606 Commercial Place, New Orleans.

v. ?-v. 13 no. 16 //? n. d. (1894-5?) 23x30 cm.

Editor: None given.

Holdings: LNH v. 13 no. 1-16.

Notes: No. 1 v. XIII is labeled Premium Edition. No information given as to editor or date of publication. Must have been in 1894-5, because the copyrighted articles on fashions and sewing are dated 1893-4.

First page sub-title, The Family Magazine and Library of Choice Literature. Contents: Two serial stories, bits of verse, fashion plates and notes on sewing, household hints, wit and humor, Golden Grains, and engraved prints. Occasionally a piece or two of music. Sixteen pages.

 H. B. Stevens' Illustrated Monthly; published at New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-2 //? Nov.-Dec., 1888 //? 241/2x301/2 cm.

Editor: H. B. Stevens.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 2 (Dec., 1888).

Notes: Original water-colors, dramatic skits, stories, jokes, etc. Copyrighted.

107. Strong Words, devoted to progressive thought, and especially to the interpretation and application of the laws of life; printed by T. H. Thomason, New Orleans. v. 1 no. 1-4 //? June 30-Aug. 10, 1878 //? Weekly. 15x23 cm.

Editor: None given, and no hint as to his identity.

Ho'dings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-4.

Notes: The pamphlet is the product of the editor's mind and writing. He proposes to interpret and apply, and suggest applications of, the Laws of Life. This is Spiritualism, he says, without its abuses. To give ideas and impressions and thus help toward spiritual truth is his purpose. Contains discussions and verse, "progressive" ideas about government. To be published as long as subscriptions and receipts from advertising will allow. Sixteen pages.

108. The Teachers' Forum; published monthly, except during July, August and September, by the Associate Teachers' League, New Orleans.

v. 1-4 // Feb., 1914-1917 // 171/2x251/2 cm. Illustrated.

Editor: Louis H. Gosserand, ed. in chief.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1, 7, 9; v. 2 no. 2, 3, 5; v. 3 no. 6, 9 (Jan., 1917); v. 4 no. 1-2 (Feb.-Mar., 1917). LNT v. 1-4.

Notes: Addresses before the Association, School problems and suggestions. Digests of educational journals. Reviews. Verse. About fifty pages.

109. Teachers' Outlook; organ of the Board of School Directors, and of the New Orleans Educational Association, New Orleans.

> v. 1-v. 7 no. 3 //? Jan., 1900-Mar., 1906 //? Monthly except during July, August and September. 19x27 cm.

Editors: Eleanor E. Riggs, 1900-Nov., 1902; Rubie G. Harris, Dec., 1902-June, 1904; Annie Kennedy, Oct., 1904-June, 1905; Rubie G. Harris, Oct., 1905-.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1, 5, 8, 9; v. 2 no. 1-6, 8, 10; v. 3; v. 4 no. 6-9; v. 5 no. 3, 5, 8; v. 6 no. 1, 2, 4, 6-8; v. 7 no. 2, 3.

Notes: Reviews. Sketches of prominent New Orleans educators and people. School suggestions and problems. Lesson plans. Digests of suggestions from educational magazines. Art and Music department in later numbers. Verse occasionally. Eight pages.

110. Town Talk; published monthly by Town Talk Publishing Co., New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-9 //? June?-Feb., 1905 //? Illustrated. 23½x31 cm.

Editor: Alfred H. Lough, managing editor.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 7 (Dec., 1904), 9 (Feb., 1905).

Notes: Departments of Society, Art, Music, Drama, Sports, Fashions. Sketches. Verse. About fifty pages, at least half of which is advertising.

111. The Union Magazine, an illustrated weekly journal for everybody, a modern home journal; published by F. H. Lande, publisher of serial books, New Orleans. v. 1-v. 3 no. 9 //? n. d. (1907?-?) 23x30 cm.

Editor: None given. Lande?

Holdings: LNH v. 3 no. 9 (n. d.).

Notes: Copyrighted 1907 by the Union Publishing Co. Serial stories, verse, illustrations, fashion plates, household suggestions, and a correspondence column for the lovelorn and others. Sixteen pages. Same type as The Standard Magazine. See entry 105.

112. Ur sere Lustigen Blätter—New Orleanser Deutsches Familien-Journal und Unsere Lustigen Blätter published weekly by Geo. Müller, New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1-21 //? May 9-Sept. 26, 1891 //?

Illustrated. 21x30 cm.

Editor: Geo. Müller.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-21.

Notes. The Blätter is a joke sheet. The Familien-Journal started out as a journal chiefly of interest to Germans, but was soon replaced by a Beiblatt which appears regularly after it is begun July 4, 1891. Some fiction.

113. The Volunteers' Friend; edited by the girls of Fourth District High School; printed by Clark and Brisbin, New Orleans.

no. 1 //? Nov. 23, 1861 //? 26x35 cm.

Editors: Miss Gertrude C.; Critic, Miss Susie O.; Reporter, Miss Mary P.

Holdings: LNH no. 1.

Notes: A paper edited by the girls of Fourth District High School "for the purpose of aiding our brave volunteers." To be issued again if sufficient encouragement is given. Letters, short essays, etc. Eight pages. Printed on yellow paper.

J 114. Warrington's Musical Review, music, art, drama and literature; published monthly by W. J. Warrington, New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 7 no. 7 //? 1878?-Aug., 1884 //? 25x31 cm.

Editor: W. J. Warrington.

Holdings: LNH v. 7 no. 7 (Aug., 1884).

Notes: Selections of music; brief reviews of music received. Stories, editorials, notes, selected material.

115. Weekly Budget. a literary, family and news journal; published weekly by Jas. H. Hummel, 68 Camp Street, New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 2 no. 26 //? 1875-July 1, 1876 //? Engravings for stories. 27½x38 cm.

Editor: None given. Hummel?

Holdings: LNH v. 2 no. 4-26 (Jan. 23-July 1, 1876).

Notes: Contains political, personal, social, local and foreign news; fashions; young people's department; serial and short stories; verse; very brief literary notes, giving notices about books in progress and just out; art, operatic and dramatic notes, at home and abroad; column of enigmas. Sixteen pages. Mentioned in Our Home Journal, entry 78.

116. Werlein's Musical Journal; published monthly by Philip Werlein, New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1 //? June 1, 1884 //? 23x31 cm.

Editor: Philip Werlein.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1.

Notes: The Prospectus announces that the magazine "will contain the latest musical intel'igence of all kinds, announcements of the best new music published and articles of interest to all musicians." Also, each number is to contain two or three pieces of choice music, vocal and instrumental. Twelve pages; two of writing, eight of music, two of advertising.

117. Woman's Era, a magazine of inspiration for the modern woman; published at New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 2 no. 4 //? Feb., 1910-Jan., 1911 //?

Monthly except July and Aug. 15x211/2 cm. Illustrated.

Editor: Margaret Elsie Cross, M.A.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1-3, 5 (Feb.-June, 1910).

LNSM v. 1-v. 2 no. 4 (Feb., 1910-Jan., 1911).

Notes: Permanent departments in Arts and Crafts, Economics, Civics, Literature, Club Work, Music, Ethics, Professional and College Life. Reviews.

118. The Woman's World, a journal devoted to women; published every Saturday, No. 20 Natchez St., New Orleans.

v. 1 no. 1 //? Dec. 20, 1890 //? 23x33 cm.

Editor: Miss M. A. E. Farwell, Managing Editor.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 1.

Notes: Object to furnish "first class social, literary, fashion, news journal and matters of industrial importance and interest to the sex." For women of all classes. Fersonals. Verse and stories. A Children's and a Men's department. Eight pages.

119. Word and Work, a monthly magazine whose purpose is to declare the whole counsel of God; published by Stanford Chambers, New Orleans.

v. 1-v. 8 no. 2 //? 1908?-Feb., 1915 //? 15x221/2 cm.

Editor: Stanford Chambers.

Holdings: LNH v. 6 no. 11 (Nov., 1913); v. 8 no. 2 (Feb., 1915).

Notes: Church of Christ. Family religious journal with department for children. Much of material from ministers throughout the South. Reviews of religious books. Thirty-two pages. Consolidated into itself Southland Evangelist in 1913.

120. Young's Magazine (The American Clubman); published monthly by Courtland H. Young, New Orleans. v. 1 (no. 11)-v. 5 no. 4 //? Jan., 1897-Apr., 1901 //? 171/2x26 cm.

Editor: Courtland H. Young.

Holdings: LNH v. 1 no. 11, 12 (Nov.-Dec., 1897); v. 2 no. 1, 3-5, 9, 11; v. 3 no. 5, 6, 12; v. 4 no. 9 (Sept., 1900); v. 5 no. 4 (Apr., 1901).

Notes: New title for The American Clubman beginning with v. 1 no. 11, Nov., 1897. See entry 2. Discussions of current topics, politics; stories; some verse; essays; theatricals; society.

121. Young Men's Hebrew Association Magazine; a semi-monthly magazine issued under the direction of the Publication Committee of the Y. M. H. A., New Orleans. v. 1-v. 5 no. 7 //? June, 1903?-Sept., 1907 //? 25x33½ cm.

Editor: Herman J. Seiferth.

Holdings: LNH v. 5 no. 7 (Sept. 15, 1907). LNSM v. 1 no. 11-15 (Nov., 1903-Jan., 1904).

Notes: A magazine for Jewish homes. Sketches, theatre news, selected verse and stories. Twenty-eight pages.

## CHRONOLOGICAL CHECK-LIST

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- 1834: Le Corsaire Louisianais, 11.
- 1837: La Créole, 13.
- 1841: La Lorgnette, 52,
- 1842: Le Propagateur Catholique, 85. Southern Quarterly Review, 101.
- 1846: De Bow's Review, 21.

  La Revue Louisianaise, 90.
- 1854: New Orleans Noesis, 70.
- 1857: Parlor Magazine, 82.
  Le Spiritualiste, 103.
- 1861: La Renaissance Louisianaise, 88.
  Volunteers' Friend, 113.
- 1866: Crescent Monthly, 17.
- 1868: Our Portfolio, 79.
- 1869: Le Carillon, 6.

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  Southern Monthly Magazine, 99.
- 1870: L'Entr'Acte, 30.

  New Orleans Advocate and Journal of Education, 64.

  Present Age, 84.
- 1871: Good Health and Mental Bliss, 34. Our Home Journal, 78.
- 1872: Rising Generation, 92.
- 1874: Louisiana State Agricultural & Mechanical College Journal, 55.
  New Orleans Monthly Review, 69.
- 1875: Weekly Budget, 115.
- 1876: Comptes-Rendus de L'Athénée Louisianais, 10.
- 1878: New Orleans Quarterly Review, 71.
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- 1879: Louisiana Journal of Education, 53.
- 1881: Country Visitor's Summer Magazine, 12. L'Opéra et ses Hôtes, 76.
- 1882: Mascot, 56. Olivette, 74.

1883: Figaro, 32.

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1884: Agricultural and Commercial Review, 1. Laborer, 46.

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1886: Lantern, 48.

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1888: H. B. Stevens' Illustrated Monthly, 166.

1890: Animal Herald, 3.
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1902: Club Life, 8.
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1903: Young Men's Hebrew Association Magazine, 121.

1904: Southern Guardsman, 97. Town Talk, 110.

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## ADDENDA

Some of the following titles should perhaps be included. Two or three of the magazines I have seen, but have excluded arbitrarily because they seemed to be primarily newspapers rather than magazines. The others I have not seen; consequently I have not been able to give complete information about them.

- 1. The Christian Scientist, Sept., 1916-Dec. 1920 //?, published monthly by Stephen H. Alison, and edited by Alison and Miss Alice Boyd. Devoted to spreading the doctrines of Mary Baker Eddy. Holdings in LNH and LNSM.
- 2. L'Entre-Acte, 1834.
- 3. Jewish Ledger. LNSM has v. 73 no. 22-v. 78 no. 25 (May, 1931-Dec., 1933).
- 4. Louisiana. LNSM has v. 1 no. 1 (Feb., 1915).
- 5. Louisiana Biographies, 1882, published weekly by A. Meynier. LNSM has v. 1 no. 1-5 (Feb.-Mar., 1882).
- 6. Louis'ana Leader, 1933. LNSM has v. 1 no. 1-2.
- 7. Magnolia, 1871.
- 8. New Orleans Short Stories, 1932. LNSM has no. 1.
- 9. New Orleans Southern Home Companion, 1893. LNSM has v. 1 no. 10.
- 10. Old Folks Home Messenger. LNSM has v. 22 no. 9-v. 42 no. 12 (Sept., 1913-Dec., 1933).
- 11. Pan American Magazine.
- 12. Le Passe Tems, 1827-1829.
- 13. Port of New Orleans. LNSM has v. 2 no. 25-v. 7 no. 24 (July, 1931-Jan., 1934).

- 14. La Revue, 1895, edited by Marie Roussel.
- 15. La Semaine Littéraire, revue Franco-American des Principaux Romans et Feuilletons Nouveaux. Publice par Alfred Broutin, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1850. From no. 11-16 published by Henri Vignaud et A. Broutin. LNSM has Tome 2 no. 1-5, 11-16.
- 16. Southern Ladies' Book, 1852-1853.
- 17. Southerner, 1919. LNSM has v. 1 no. 1-2.
- 18. Southland, 1919. LNSM has v. 1 no. 1.
- Through the Louisiana Swamps, 1888, published by G. A. Coulon, illustrated. LNSM has v. 1.
- 20. The Torchlight, 1929. LNSM has v. 1 no. 1-3.
- 21. La Violette, revue musicale et littéraire, 1849-1850.
- 22. Warrington Messenger. LNSM has v. 6 no. 3-v. 11 no. 7 (Jan., 1928-Feb., 1934).



# DISFRANCHISEMENT IN LOUISIANA (1862-70)

# By WILLIAM A. RUSS, JR.

Southern secession from the United States meant that, in the eyes of Confederates, the inhabitants of the belligerent States were no longer Americans—at least not Americans of the older allegiance—and that they had become citizens of a new nation, namely, the Confederacy. Since the Washington government could not countenance such a doctrine, the war that followed was fought by the North to keep Southerners from becoming foreigners. In short, the Civil War, as viewed from the Federal standpoint, was a domestic struggle to force rebellious individuals to accept Federal authority; from the Confederate standpoint, it was a war of conquest by the North upon an independent state.1

The Northern doctrine, that the secessionists were still American citizens, had to be the guiding principle of the Lincoln government if the rebellion was to be crushed; yet it was a difficult policy to carry out because facts did not always square with theory. In Louisiana the problem emerged very early, that is, as soon as New Orleans was captured by Federal forces. It was all right to say at Washington that the people of Louisiana were still American citizens who were in an unnatural relationship to the Union; it was all right to say (as the Crittenden resolutions did) that the war was not for conquest but to maintain the Union; and it was all right to say that "this war is not waged . . . in any spirit of oppression." But what attitude should be taken toward those rebellious citizens of New Orleans who were once again under Union control? Should they be treated as citizens with full rights? Should they be allowed to vote and

1 Hence the Southern nomenclature for the struggle: the War between the States, or the

¹ Hence the Southern nomenclature for the struggle: the War between the States, or the War for Sou'hern Independence.

² That this, and the other questions, were not mere'y academic, can be seen in the speech of Delegate Thomas in the constitutional convention of 1864 (to be discussed shortly).

"Every man born in the United Sta'es before the war broke out is a citizen of the United States. Jeff. Davis, John Slidell and Judah P. Benjamin are citizens of the United States, and so are thousands of other rebels now within the limits of the State of Louisiana. Do we desire now to submit the constitution to rebe's or only to loyal men? It would be worse than folly to submit it to rebels or to have it liable to be defeated by rebel votes. We must not submit it to traitors that are now in the land; let us rather submit it to those whom we represent—men whom we represent and whom we know to be loyal to the government". Debates of the Convention for the Revision and Amendment of the Constitution of the State of Louisiana. Assembled at Liberty Hall, New Orleans, April 6, 1864. (New Orleans, 1864), p. 621.

to hold office? Should they be permitted to send representatives to Congress? If the War was fought, as the above-mentioned resolutions stated, without any "purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States," should the people of Louisiana not be received once again into full fellowship?

General Benjamin F. Butler, upon occupying New Orleans, was the first to be faced with the problem as to whether secessionists should be disfranchised or enfranchised. On May 1, 1862, he issued a proclamation which showed that the military administration intended, as its first duty, to separate the Unionist sheep from the Disunionist goats. "All persons," said he, "well disposed towards the Government of the United States, who shall renew their oath of allegiance, will receive the safeguard and protection, in their persons and property, of the armies of the United States. . . All persons still holding allegiance to the Confederate States will be deemed rebels against the Government of the United States, and regarded and treated as enemies thereof."3 The Unionist New Orleans Delta counselled all secessionists to return to their allegiance, for Louisiana was permanently conquered and would never return to the Confederacy.4

Carrying out his intentions, Butler, in General Orders 41 of June 10, 1862, declared that no power or authority was to be allowed to traitors in the city and that the United States Constitution required all officers of the State and nation to take the oath, although this need not be forced on anyone else who refused. But all officers must subscribe:

Judges, justices, sheriffs, attorneys, notaries, and all officers of the law whatever, and all persons who have ever been, or who have ever claimed to be, citizens of the United States in this department, who therefore exercise any office, hold any place of trust or calling . . . judicial or administrative . . . must subscribe. . . All acts, doings, deeds, instruments, records or certificates, certified or attested by, and transactions done . . .

Printed in New Orleans Delta, May 24, 1862.
 May 29, 1862.

were to be void, if performed by an official who, after June 15, had not taken the oath of allegiance.<sup>5</sup> All citizens, enemies, and foreigners<sup>6</sup> were required to register.

Butler was anxious to revive loyalty and thought that there was no better method than to force all citizens publicly to take a stand either for or against the Union. He was surely too sanguine about the possibility of regimenting recent secessionists into loyalty by means of a simple oath of allegiance to the United States, but his hopes were high, as can be seen in a letter he wrote to Stanton:

I would call attention to the policy of allowing me to assure, within this department, certain classes of persons who have been in the rebellion, of a condonation of all political offenses to whomsoever should take the oath of allegiance on or before a given date. . . . I am confident that many are tired and sick of the war here, who would gladly return to their allegiance, if by some authoritative act they could be assured that the past would be forgiven. . . If either under direct guidance of instructions of the War Department, or if left to my discretion as to the terms to be employed, if a declaration of Amnesty under certain conditions could be made, I will venture to undertake that Louisiana will within Sixty days from the date of such action return to her allegiance.

Whether the General really thought that he could reconstruct the State in two months or not, he and his subordinates proceeded to give the oath to everyone who would take it, and to require that all officials, down to street cleaners, subscribe. The officials of New Orleans, having refused to take the oath required in Orders 41, resigned or were removed, on June 27,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The order can be found in New Orleans Delta, June 12, 1862; in James Parton, General Butler in New Orleans . . . (Boston, 1868), pp. 450-1; and in Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler during the Period of the Civil War (Five volumes, privately issued, 1917), I, 574-76.

issued, 1917), I, 574-76.

The requirement that foreigners register and take an oath raised a typical Butler broil. Foreign consuls protested vehemently; Butler answered, but in the end was forced to modify the oath they had to take. They must now swear that "I will, to the best of my ability, support, protect, and defend, the Constitution of the United States". Butler said this should create no objection, since French Legionaires had taken a similar oath to Louisiana and the Confederate Government. New Orleans Delta, June 21, 1862, and Private and Official Correspondence of . . Butler, I, 597-607. See ibid., for protest of Seward to Stanton against requiring foreigners to take the oath, II, 10-11. By Orders 71, of September 13, 1862, all foreigners were required to register, because "it may become necessary to distinguish the Disloyal from the loyal citizens and honest neutral foreigners". New Orleans Delta, September 20, 1862.

tember 20, 1862.

7 Private and Official Correspondence of . . . Butler, I, 568-70.

<sup>8</sup> Parton, op. cit., p. 308.

1862, and the government was transferred to military rule. General G. F. Shepley, military commandant, invited all officers and soldiers to return to New Orleans if they would take an oath not to fight the United States until regularly exchanged or released from parole.10 All auctioneers were commanded to subscribe or their acts would be null and void after July 11.11

Far from producing a general feeling of loyalty, these acts naturally created much ill will, and the prominent secessionists of the city made their dissatisfaction known. As Ficklin points out, Butler then proceeded to use the oath as an oppressive measure in order to force loyalty upon a conquered people under the threat of punishment. All were required to register on pain of fine; the women, who were commanded to comply also, considered it an outrage, although many took the oath with a mental reservation in order to save their property. 12 The report, on August 6, of Provost Marshal Jonas H. French, indicated that 11,723 had taken the oath as citizens, 2,499 had signed as aliens, 4,933 privates had taken parole, and 211 officers had done so.13 During September there was a great rush to the registration offices. One of Butler's friends reported the result, with satisfaction, to Secretary Chase, as follows:

> During the week ending last night the number of people who have taken oath of allegiance is very great. Every place where the oath was administered was thronged. Secessionists can be tamed, and Gen. Butler can do it. I should say that three-fourths, at least, of the citizens have taken the oath, and yet not a threat was made against such as should not take it.14

Little wonder that there was a rush, for, on September 24, acting under the Confiscation Law, Butler ordered all, who had not yet taken the oath, to register with the nearest provost marshal before October 1, listing all their property and receiving a certificate that they were enemies of the United States whose valuables were subject to confiscation. Furthermore, on October 1, every

<sup>Ibid., p. 452.
New Orleans Detla, June 20, 1862.
New Orleans Detta, July 12, 1862.
New Orleans Detta, July 12, 1862.
John Rose Ficklen, Reconstruction in Louis'ana (through 1868) (Baltimore, 1910),</sup> 

pp. 36-39.

13 New Orleans Delta, August 7, 1862.

14 G. S. Denison to S. P. Chase, September 24, 1862, in Private and Official Correspondence of . . . Butler . . ., II, 329.

householder must return a list of all his roomers, even if they had already taken the oath. Everyone who took the oath in good faith would be recommended to the President for a pardon.15 Still there was trouble, especially with Episcopal clergymen, three of whom were deported to New York for refusal to take the oath and for refusal to pray for President Lincoln. Soon the churches were attended only by soldiers, for most Southerners would not come.16 By the end of Butler's administration, about 4,000 had registered as enemies, many had left the city, and 61,382 had taken the oath of allegiance.17

Butler was anxious to complete his work by getting recognition of the new electorate from Washington.18 With this in mind, military Governor Shepley called an election for December 3, 1862, to fill the vacancies in the First and Second Congressional Districts, both of which were in New Orleans. Benjamin F. Flanders, Unionist, polled only 2,370 votes, but was declared elected for the First District; and Michael Hahn, having won 2,799 out of 5,117 votes cast in the Second District, received the

<sup>15</sup> New Orleans Delta, September 26, 1862. Ever afterward Butler was charged with personally enriching himself through confiscation of Southern property. For instance, on March 27, 1868, A. Wheless, of Wheless & Pratt, bankers, of New Orleans, asked Butler for \$100 with interest since 1862. Wheless said that Butler had confiscated the funds of the Citizens Bank of New Orleans and with those funds was a check to a poor old lady who now needed the money. Butler answered: "As Commander of the Gulf I gave an order Confiscating all the funds belonging to rebels in the Service of the Confederates who had Abandoned their homes. . . This Money was Confiscated to the use—of the United States [.] How does that make me liable. . . The impudence of the demand is Equalled by its ignorance—and that only". (Butler MSS, Library of Congress). Butler had to suffer many diatribes for a set of spoons which he was said to have carried back home from Louisiana. A poem ran: A poem ran:

<sup>&</sup>quot;How brave a Soldier Butler was, Let this one fact reveal, That even silver spoons and forks Were worthy of his steal."

Many suits were started against him in court to recover property which he was accused of stealing. A letter to him from William H. Wiegal, assistant commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau, in Maryland, said: "What is the meaning of these new cases against You in the Courts? I kept your Cash book & Bank Book & Check Books while with you in New Orleans—Can I be of any Service to You? Why did you never Send for me as a Witness in the Saml. Smith lease? I made the seizure. ." (Wiegal to Butler, January 17, 1867, in Butler MSS.)

<sup>16</sup> Parton, op. cit., pp. 484-85.

<sup>18</sup> Parton, op. cit., pp. 484-85.

17 Ficklen, op. cit., pp. 38-9. Butler's own side of the registration question can be found in Benjamin F. Butler, Butler's Book (Boston, 1892), pp. 470 ff.

18 With striking prescience, Lincoln forcsaw what would later happen when carpetbaggers came, like Goths and Vandais, to Louisiana and to other radically-reconstructed states. In anticipation of a Congressional election in Louisiana, he wrote to Shepley, on November 21, 1862, as follows: "We do not particular'y need members of Congress from there to enable us to get along with legislation here. What we do want is the conclusive evidence that respectable citizens of Louisiana are willing to be members of Congress and to swear support to the Constitution and that other respectable citizens there are willing to vote for them and send them. To send a parcel of Northern men here as representatives, elected, as would be understood (and perhaps really so), at the point of the bayonet, would be disgusting and outrageous; and were I a member of Congress here, I would vote against admitting any such man to a seat". Quoted by Charles H. McCarthy, Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction, (New York, 1901), p. 44.

credentials. What attitude would the House of Representatives take toward Butler's species of disfranchisement through the oath of allegiance? Vallandigham, objecting to swearing either of them in, caused their applications to be sent to committees. Finally on February 3, 1863, Dawes, of Massachusetts, reported in favor of seating both of them, and in a speech several days later justified this decision of the committee. There was considerable objection to Shepley's calling an election, since the Louisiana Constitution said nothing of military governors. Hahn was allowed to speak for both claimants, pleading that the House would not "disfranchise" them. In the end, both were seated on February 23, 1863; but it was an empty victory, since the session ended a few days later.19

The admission of these men placed the stamp of approval of the House (Dawes's report was passed 92 to 44) upon Butler's aim to restore the State as fast as it was occupied. Although there was no constitutional State government, and although much of the State was still unconquered and secessionist in sympathy, the House had acted in accordance with the Crittenden resolutions. As yet, the war was being fought merely to restore the Union, without thought of punishment. This attitude soon changed, and radicals were hard put to justify the volte face.

In the very next session of Congress, where a more proscriptive spirit prevailed, radicals perceived that the admission of Hahn and Flanders had set a precedent which, in their eyes, was a serious mistake as well as a tactical error. In this new Congress, there was less willingness to proceed upon the policy of the Crittenden resolutions; rather was there a well-organized desire to use punitive methods.

General N. P. Banks succeeded Butler, on December 14, 1862. During the next year he attempted to set up local civil government,20 but he was less fortunate in securing recognition of his Congressmen than Butler had been. A wierd, extra-legal election for Congressmen was held in three districts in or around New Orleans on November 2, 1863. A. P. Field (who received

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> For the fight to seat Flanders and Hahn, see Congressional Globe, (37 Cong. 3 Sess.) pp. 144, 164, 695, 831-37, 855-66, 1010-16, 1030-36, 1268. 20 Ficklen, op. cit., pp. 45-6, 55, 60, 61-2, gives further facts regarding registration matters under Banks's regime.

156 votes) claimed a seat from the First Congressional District. Thomas Cottman from the Second, and Joshua Baker from the Fifth. Field, who was allowed to defend his case before the House, arraigned military Governor Shepley for requiring every voter to take the oath of allegiance to the United States and to the Constitution, and to swear to help organize a loyal government in Louisiana. Yet he asked admission because a precedent had been set in the previous session. Representative Kernan, of New York, suggested that Hahn and Flanders had been illegally admitted because the State had not been redistricted since 1852; while Stevens said that both of them had been illegally seated "by force of the power of the House, without . . . any law or right." Finally, Feild was refused his seat (85-48), Cottman resigned, and Baker never appeared.21 This vote made it plain that, if the House was ever again to recognize members from Louisiana, they must be elected on the basis of a stricter disfranchisement than was possible under a mere oath of allegiance by which a rebel could perjure himself easily.

Affairs took a new turn with Lincoln's amnesty oath,<sup>22</sup> as outlined in his one-tenth plan for State reorganization, on December 8, 1863. Banks took it up at once by proclaiming, on January 11, 1864, gubernatorial elections which were to be held February 22, 1864. Every free white male who had subscribed to Lincoln's amnesty might vote.<sup>23</sup> This requirement covered both rebels and original Unionists. Banks justified his order—that even original Unionists must take the oath—in the following words: "The oath prescribed by the President offers amnesty

The facts appertaining to this election can be found in Congressional Globe, (38 Cong., 1 Sess.), pp. 5-6, 7, 33, 332, 411-15, 543-7; also House Report 8 (38 Cong., 1 Sess.)
 The oath read: "I, \_\_\_\_\_\_, do solemnly swear, in presence of Almighty God,

<sup>22</sup> The oath read: "I, \_\_\_\_\_\_, do solemnly swear, in presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Union of the States thereunder; and that I will in like manner abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified, or held void by Congress or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will in like manner abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme Court. So help me God". A hasty glance at the words of this oath will show why radicals disliked it. Any secessionist who was repentant might take it; in fact anyone might subscribe whether he was repentant or not. The only provisos were that he promise to be good hereafter and that he accept whatever action had been taken on slavery. Radicals believed that only trueblue, original Unionists, who had never taken up a gun against the United States, should reorganize the State goverments. This amnesty oath of Lincoln's would allow ex-rebels to swamp original Unionists into a minority. The radical attitude was written into the Wade-Davis bill, which L'ncoln allowed to die; in this bill there was a rigid disfranchising clause which would have disqualified all except those who had never under any conditions taken up arms. Thus those, whom Lincoln's oath would have enfranchised, would be eliminated if radicals had their way.

<sup>23</sup> New Orleans Era, February 9, 1864; Nashville Dispatch, January 27, 1864.

and pardon only to those who have committed treason. To all others it is a simple plege [sic] of continued fealty to the Government."24 In Louisiana, just as in Arkansas and Tennessee, there arose much ill feeling on the part of original Unionists against taking an oath which also was required of secessionists. One Joseph Barker, on January 22, wrote to Lincoln, saying that good Union men would not take his oath, for, not being rebels, they needed no amnesty. If it is literally construed, he continued, "our best men cannot be induced to become candidates, and the votes cast will be of a very limited number." He ended by asking whether the President intended to disfranchise those who had voted for Congressmen Hahn and Flanders and by stating that "Citizens who have not sinned cannot honorably accept a pardon."25 Likewise, the Unionists, Roselius, Adams, Barker, and Hall protested to Banks, but to no avail.26 All prospective voters must subscribe, said the General. The True Delta defended Banks with the charge that ". . . he who does oppose it [Lincoln's oath] gives evidence that he has a hankering love for the rotten institution of the past—slavery and state rights."27 In spite of considerable ill will, Hahn and Wells, on the Free State ticket, were elected Governor and Lieutenant-Governor; onefifth of the 1860 electorate having voted, there was plenty of margin to spare in order to fulfill Lincoln's one-tenth plan.28 Soon the new State government was set going.

Having succeeded in establishing the executive portion of the State government on the basis of the oath of December 8, 1863, Banks next moved to hold an election of delegates to a constitutional convention. This was made known on March 11, 1864, as General Orders 35, later confirmed by a proclamation of Governor Hahn. Again, all were enfranchised who subscribed to the Lincoln amnesty, and all were disfranchised who would not.<sup>29</sup>

25 Ibid., February 17, 1864.

26 Loc. cit.

<sup>24</sup> New Orleans Era, February 15, 1864.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Clipped by New Orleans Era, February 13, 1864.

<sup>28</sup> New Orleans Era, February 24, 1864. The sizable vote (considering the great amount of secessionist sympathy still in the State) was probably due to Banks's order, of February 3, 1864, that all persons registered must vote one way or the other; that those who stayed at home would be punished, because "Indifference will be treated as a crime, and faction as treason". (Ficklen, op. cit., pp. 61-2). The New York Times (clipped by New Orleans Era, March 1, 1864) applauded Banks's order because it would stop passive resistance. "The Louisianian, therefore, who refuses to vote, cannot be a true supporter of the Union".

<sup>29</sup> New Orleans Era, March 12 and 20, 1864; Nashville Dispatch, March 30, 1864.

The convention, having assembled early in April, 1864, accomplished nothing the first day except to squabble over taking the amnesty oath. J. R. Terry offered a resolution that every member should be a citizen of Louisiana and that before noon. April 9, should show the convention secretary a certificate that he had taken the oath of December 8. Many said this was an insult to their patriotism; 30 for, if they were not already loyal, how had they been elected? It finally passed, 70-10, and the Era was pleased: "We rejoice at its passage by so large a vote, as indicative of the hearty loyalty of the Convention."31 Roselius withdrew from the convention when required to subscribe, but Cazabat defended the resolution. "Let us proclaim," said Cazabat, "to the world that every man who is to participate in the proceedings of this Convention has already complied with that important proclamation of December 8, 1863."32

A number of resolutions pertaining to the franchise was offered. One, which failed, 68-18, would require that no person was eligible for State or city office who did not have the qualifications which voters for the present convention had; and that if any persons were holding office and did not fulfill this requirement, they should be removed.33 Better luck with a similar resolution came later when the convention (56-21) agreed that it was the sense of the members that the governor and mayors should remove all persons from office who were not citizens of the State and who had not taken the oath of December 8, 1863. Delegate Heard objected to this resolution strenuously: "I wish to understand if this Convention is going to form itself into an inquisition. If so, let us know it, and elect a grand inquisitor, and have our racks of torture. I would like to know what we have to do with the officers of the city of New Orleans-what right have we to dictate to the governor and mayor whom to retain in office and whom to turn out." But Henderson said it was necessary to root out Copperheads, and the resolution passed.34 Delegate Thomas offered, and secured passage (60-9)

<sup>30</sup> Official Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention for the Revision and Amendment of the Constitution of the State of Louisiana. By Authority (New Orleans, 1864), pp. 9-10.

31 New Orleans Era, April 9, 1864. The Era gave the vote as 96-11.

32 Debates of the Convention for the Revision and Amendment of the Constitution of the State of Louisiana. Assembled at Liberty Hall, New Orleans, April 6, 1864. (New Orleans, 1964) State of Louisiana. Assembled at Liberty Hall, New Orleans, April 6, 1864. (New Orleans, 1864), pp. 11-14.

33 Journal, pp. 40, 48. Henderson opposed the resolution as ex post facto. Debates,

pp. 78-81.

34 Journal, p. 60 and Debates, pp. 185-7.

of, an ordinance to define the qualifications of voters. According to this provision, all voting officials and election commissioners must require every voter to declare his allegiance to the United States according to the amnesty oath of December 8, 1863.35 As finally accepted, the Constitution, in Title III, Article 14, had no disfranchisement, except in so far as the amnesty oath of December 8, 1863, was necessary for voting and office-holding.<sup>36</sup> As compared to the post-war carpet-bag Constitution, the disfranchisement was mild.

The new legislature under this Constitution met on October 3, 1864. The senate proceeded to interest itself in the question of the franchise, by a bill to pardon all Confederates under the rank of colonel who would take the oath of allegiance to the United States and to Louisiana, and also to start proceedings to confiscate the property of Semmes, Moise, Benjamin, Slidell, and others for treason and perjury. But it lost by a margin of three votes out of twenty-one.37 More important was the election of Senators to represent the State in the upper house at Washington. A State legislature had not been necessary to elect men to the lower house, hence the popular chamber had already been bothered by claimants to seats. Now that there was a legislature, the Senate must also take an attitude upon the species of disfranchisement which had been used in Louisiana. Would the Senate recognize the disfranchisement inherent in Lincoln's oath of December 8, 1863, by seating two men who were elected by a legislature, which in turn, had been elected by voters who had taken Lincoln's oath? By seating Hahn and Flanders, the House had shown favor to Butler's type of disfranchising by a mere oath of allegiance. Would it accept Lincoln's oath?

When, on December 6, 1864, the letter of Governor Hahn, presenting the credentials of Charles Smith and R. King Cutler as the duly elected Senators from Louisiana, was read, there was immediate objection by Senator Wade and others.38 The question before the Senate was more than whether Smith and Cutler were personally loyal; it was more than whether the legislature

<sup>Journal, p. 169 and Debates, p. 621.
The Constitution can be found in Journal, pp. 173-85.
Ficklen, op. cit., p. 89.
Congressional Globe (38 Cong. 2 Sess.), pp. 5, 8.</sup> 

and those voters who had elected the legislature were loyal. It had now become a question, in the minds of radicals, whether there was any State of Louisiana to be represented. If there was no such State, no Senators could be received, even if they could take the iron-clad oath, <sup>39</sup> Lincoln's amnesty oath, or any other oath.

This entire short session of the Senate was punctuated with arguments, often bitter and personal, in reference to the great constitutional question which was becoming more and more a political issue: were the Southern States in the Union or not? Already the lines were being drawn between radicals who said they were not, and moderate or Lincoln men who thought they were. But there were many other sides to the problem: the question of Presidential power over a State; the question of the authority of Congress over a State; the question of whether a State could be bona fide when under the control of the army; the question as to whether a State could be safely recognized when only a minority were loyal; and the question as to whether the Lincoln amnesty oath was rigid enough to keep secessionists from participating in the State government.

Finally on February 18, 1865, Trumbull, for the Judiciary Committee, reported in favor of recognizing the new government of Louisiana by admitting the two claimants. A few days later, Sumner, with one of his interminable lists of resolutions, wished to keep out the seceded States until the President declared the rebellion over. A Democrat from Kentucky, Powell, argued that the Lincoln men wanted to admit the State in order to get another vote for the amendment to abolish slavery. He thought that there should be a majority of the people supporting the new government, instead of a mere one-tenth or one-fifth, supported by the army. To

<sup>39</sup> The iron-clad or test-oath of July 2, 1862 was passed to root out disloyalty in national office. No one might be appointed or elected to Federal office who could not swear that:

(1) he had never voluntarily borne arms against the United States, (2) he had never given aid or comfort to the enemy, (3) he had never sought or held office under any pretended government which was inimical to the United States, and (4) he would support the Constitution of the United States. No secessionist who had aided the rebellion voluntarily, no matter how repentant he was, could take such an oath. Radicals wished to use it in State reorganization rather than the Lincoln amnesty oath which merely asked the applicant not to rebel again. The iron-clad prevented anyone, who had ever rebelled, from holding office, thereby limiting office-holding to original Unionists. It would be used during 1867-68 radically to reconstruct the Southern States.

<sup>40</sup> Globe, p. 903.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 1011.

Powell, the *bête noir* was Lincoln, who had usurped powers when he undertook to impose an oath upon a man before he might vote in Louisiana:

I hold that no man who is a free man and understands all of his civil and political rights would so prostitute himself as to take that oath. The President not only requires him to swear that he will support the proclamations that have been made on the subject of slavery, but that he will support those hereafter to be made. . . Why, sir, the President may proclaim that the negro shall be the master and the white man the slave; that the negro shall be the voter and the white man deprived of the right of suffrage. . .

He attacked this government—"the first-fruits of the proclamation"—because the President had no right to interfere with the franchise in States. "It is one of the highest acts of the sovereignty of the people to proclaim their fundamental law; but here in this pretended government of Louisiana the chief exectuive of the United States undertakes to prescribe the qualification of voters and to amend the constitution of Louisiana." "Who," he cried, "clothed Nathaniel P. Banks, major general of the Army of the United States, with the power to amend the constitution of the State of Louisiana?"42

Henderson, of Missouri, made a valiant effort to defend both the President and the reorganized government of Louisiana: "I am in favor of the loyal men governing the State. If that be the government of the few, it results from the voluntary disloyalty of the many. They, of their own will, relinquish the right to govern themselves under the Constitution, and as they have no legal right to govern otherwise they cannot govern at all. I can no more compel them to govern themselves according to the Constitution than I can compel a loyal man to vote who refuses to do so." Henderson closed with eight resolutions, one of which postulated that if the majority of a state were disloyal, "the loyal minority constitute the State and should govern it." Howard, of Michigan, pursued the debate, by attempting to prove that Louisiana was a conquered country and that the franchise of

<sup>42</sup> Globe, pp. 1061-63.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp. 1065-70.

the people was at the disposal of the national government.44 The debate on that day closed with Sumner offering more resolutions.45 They wrangled into the night of February 25, with more wrangling on February 27, until the whole question was postponed because an appropriation bill had to be acted upon.46 The upshot was that no decision had been made except that the Senate was not satisfied with the lenient disfranchisement inherent in the Lincoln oath, under which Smith and Cutler had been elected.47

The House had also been taking the same attitude toward the new State government. Five claimants to Congressional seats presented themselves with credentials on December 5, 1864: W. D. Mann, T. M. Wells, Robert W. Taliaferro, A. P. Field, and M. F. Bonzano. On February 11, 1865, the Committee reported in favor of seating Bonzano, but, in the end, all applications were tabled.48 Both houses were in harmony on the proposition that Lincoln's lenient disfranchisement, according to the amnesty oath of December 8, 1863, was not to be recognized by Congress.

It was clear that the radicals in Congress would not recognize Presidential disfranchisement by the amnesty oath; nevertheless President Johnson not only carried out but exponded, Lincoln's general plan for using all repentant secessionists in the reconstruction of the Southern States. In accordance with Johnson's Amnesty Proclamation of May 29, 1865,49 Governor Wells50 of Louisiana, on June 10, ordered the establishment of local civil government throughout the State. Who were to be allowed to vote and to hold office was clear from the following words:

You must confer among yourselves, and select men of integrity and capacity to fill these positions. I will act on your recommendation by appointing the persons named

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., pp. 1091-94.
45 Ibid., pp. 1091-11, 1126-29.
47 When, on March 2, 1865, a new Senator, ex-Governor Hahn, asked, through Senator Doolittle, to have his credentials filed, Davis and Sherman objected. The papers were tabled and the incident was ended. Globe, p. 1278.
48 Globe, pp. 2, 755-56, 870; also Digest of Election Cases (41 Cong. 2 Sess.) House Mis. Doc. 152, Volume IV, pp. 2-16.
49 Johnson's Proclamation of May 29, 1865, contained an oath practically the same as that in Lincoln's Proclamation of December 8, 1865. The major difference was in the incidence of the pardon. Lincoln made fewer exceptions than Johnson's the latter probably excepted more classes from his general amnesty in order to build up a party in the South by means of granting special pardon. Thus he could get the leading secessionists obligated to him.
50 Lieutenant-Governor Wells had become Governor when Hahn resigned to take his seat in the United States Senate. As mentioned above, Hahn's credentials were not even filed.

by you, if they are men of proper character, and have taken the oath prescribed in the President's proclamation of the 8th of December, 1863, or that of the 29th of May, 1864 [sic]. This will be prerequisite in all cases, the original or certified copy of which oath must be transmitted with the application for appointment.<sup>51</sup>

That reconstruction in Louisiana was to be carried through on the basis of the lenient disfranchisement inherent in Presidential amnesty is evident from orders which Wells issued for the election of State officers to be held November 6:

> This oath [the President's] is imperative . . . and will be rigidly enforced. It will be understood, at the same time, that those who are excluded from the benefits of this amnesty oath, by any of the list of exceptions contained in the proclamation, will not be allowed to vote unless specially pardoned by the President.52

The above statement makes evident the weak point in the armor of Presidential reconstruction—the point at which radicals aimed with such success that, in the end, they disgraced the Johnsonian governments in the South and completely overturned them in favor of carpet-baggers, scalawags, and negroes. The weakness consisted in this: if Presidential reconstruction was to succeed, the President must be willing (and he was) to grant special pardons to enough of the leading secessionists to enable them to man the restored governments. Otherwise Northern adventurers would secure all the posts in the States and the Southerners were unanimously opposed to such a situation.<sup>53</sup> As a result of Johnson's pardoning, Louisiana was soon in control of amnestied secessionists, instead of original Unionists, such as radicals, like Dostie, Durell, and Warmoth, wished. Local radicals, desiring complete disfranchisement for all secessionists, even elected H. C. Warmoth as a territorial delegate to the House of Representatives. Stevens received him warmly. So far did the "rebels" go that, on March 12, 1866, they elected J. O. Nixon as alderman, and John T. Monroe as mayor of New Orleans, before either had been pardoned. Both were suspended by General E.

<sup>51</sup> Annual Cyclopaedia, 1865, p. 510.
52 Annual Cyclopaedia, 1865, p. 511.
53 Cf., the comment of the Picayune, quoted by Ficklen, op. cit., p. 108.

R. S. Canby, although Johnson rushed a pardon to Monroe so that he could take office.54 The riot of 1866 was blamed upon the secessionists. Radicals were in a rage at such Southern recalcitrance, especially when the legislature began to pass black codes. Thus J. J. Fisher, Secretary of the Ben Butler Club No. 1, of the Fourth District, in New Orleans, protested to Butler that the legislature was "composed of returned unrepentant unpunished Rebels, who are led by Shrewd wire-pulling Knaves who Know how to mask their real designs." He asked stringent action by Congress at once, and Butler promised it.55 Local radicals were not negligent in keeping Northern compeers aware of what was going on. Warmoth sent to Joseph Holt one of Colonel J. N. Nixon's editorials in the New Orleans Crescent which attacked Holt. Warmoth's comment was:

Is it not singular that men, who have been leading regiments & Brigades against the flag for four years, Should be allowed to return, and engage in a business which is the Controller of public opinion . . . to be allowed to attack the friends of the Govmt, Call our Congress-A rump—Urge the President to drive it from the Capitol by force of arms, ect--ect. . . 56

From New York, came frequent letters to Holt written by Thomas Shankland. On August 2, 1866, he asked Holt to look at the results of "my policy" in New Orleans:

With Secession Generals, appointed as Military Governors, there will be little left for the loyal Union people of the South to do, but to Escape for their lives; and if the Policy should be followed up, and sustained, by the Executive power & patronage there will be nothing left for the North to do, but resist, or submit to that domination, which has ruled, and almost ruined the Country[.] I am glad that the Sublime Secretary of War, has withstood the Shocks, and shocking vulgar assaults, of Montgomery Blair, and it is to such Men, the Country must look, in future Emergencies of danger from disunion-With the Cholera in our Midst, and the Political and Financial Cholera raging in riots, bloodshed intolerable taxation, threating [sic] a Collapse, and a general prostration, the People are dejected and have only hope in Jehovah—57

<sup>54</sup> The above facts can be found in Ficklen, op. cit., pp. 112-114 and pp. 155-70.
55 February 25, 1867, in But'er MSS (Library of Congress).
56 June 19, 1866, in Holt MSS, LII, 7242 (Library of Congress). Holt was adjutantgeneral of the army at the time. Politically he was a radical.
57 Holt MSS, LIII, 7296.

The radicals in Congress had thought to test the loyalty of the restored governments by offering to them a chance to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, whose third section would disfranchise all those who, having taken an oath, as an office-holder, to the United States before 1861, had rebelled against that government. All of the States (except Tennessee, whose case was different) rejected the Amendment as an evil thing, largely with the hope that Johnson would win out in the crucial Congressional elections of the fall of 1866. Louisiana, now in the control of Democrats and secessionists, with only Governor Wells to represent the old Union element which had reorganized the State under Lincoln, was as unceremonious as the others in refusing to truckle with the Amendment. The New Orleans Times, February 1, 1867, called upon the legislature to vote down the abomination because one vote for it "on the part of any Southern gentleman" would be "an act of self degradation" characteristic only of "spies and informers." At the same time, Voorhees, of Indiana, who had been considered one of the leading Copperhead Congressmen during the War, was in New Orleans advising against ratification. "Death is preferable," said he, "to this dishonor. This is a proscription that strikes at those who were placed in positions of honor; it is a proscription to which no people can ever give assent without making their name a synonym for degradation. Were I a Southern man, I would rather welcome death with a joy, and think it honorable."58

But the legislature hardly needed Voorhees's advice. Governor Wells told it on December 28, 1866, that, much as he disliked the Amendment, he felt it would be expedient to ratify unanimously. Instead, the legislature rejected it unanimously at the very time that Stevens and his cohorts were concocting the first reconstruction measure which would displace the very government which was acting cavalierly. At news of the expected rejection, the New Orleans *Times*, February 8, 1867, raised its voice in applause of the legislature which had the courage "to hurl back into its [the North's] very teeth that infamous Constitutional Amendment which would deprive ninety-nine hundredths [sic] of its citizens of their most highly prized political

<sup>58</sup> Speech in Cincinnati Gazette, February 11, 1867. 59 Annual Cyclopaedia, 1867, p. 452.

rights"—and yet it noted that Congress was preparing a military bill.

Louisiana aristocrats, in possession of the legislature, would not disfranchise themselves; Congress must raise up a new electorate which would disfranchise them. It did so by the laws of March 2 and 23, 1867, which declared all the Johnsonian governments illegal. Five generals were to register a new electorate which would be composed of negroes and original Unionists; all state officials who could not take the iron-clad oath of July 2, 1862, were to be dismissed; and the right of registration depended upon the third section of the Fourteenth Amendment, even though the Amendment was not yet in the Constitution. Out of that purified electorate, a radical convention would be elected; and it would disfranchise rebels from state office. A new radical government would be formed, and the legislature would be expected to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. Such was the radical scheme.

The disfranchising clauses of the military laws of March, 1867, were so ambiguous that it is not surprising to find that General Sheridan, upon whom the task fell, was handicapped in deciding whom the laws disfranchised. Hence registration was held up until information was secured from Grant, General of the Army. On April 1, Sheridan telegraphed: "In consequence of diversity of opinion I have the honor to request an authoritative decision showing who are prohibited from voting under the Military bills, covering all cases[.]"60 Grant, who, also, was better versed in military maneuvers than in legal technicalities, delayed his reply. On April 6, Sheridan pressed for an answer. Grant finally informed him that the President had turned the matter over to Attorney-General Stanbery who had not completed his study, and added: "Go on giving your interpretation to the law until answer is given."61 Sheridan at once initiated the military laws in the State on April 10, by Special Orders 15 which gave instructions for registration. He ordered, however, that, "Pending the decision of the Attorney-General . . . on the question as to who are disfranchised by law, registers will give the most rigid interpretation . . . and exclude . . . every person

Sheidan to Grant, Stanton MSS. XXXII, 56366; Johnson MSS, CXI, 14964.
 Stanton MSS, XXII, 56377; Johnson MSS, CXI, 15054, 15055.

about whose right to vote there may be doubt."62 In the interest of the conservatives, Attorney-General Stanbery disagreed with such severe construction of the laws, but his opinions were overturned by the law of July 19, which gave complete power to register or not to register to the local boards.

Sheridan's severity created a deal of opposition on the part of the conservatives whom he termed "sore-heads because we cannot interpret the law to suit them."63 A campaign was launched to persuade everyone, who could, to register, in order to vote down the convention. Protests were made against the despotic powers of registrars who allocated to themselves the right to exclude whom they wished.64 The whites were told to keep Tennessee in mind.65 President Johnson received numerous appeals to remove Sheridan and to enjoin the registrars from decimating the ranks of the conservatives. Said one complainant: "By reason of the arbitrary course of the registrars, giving their own absurd interpretations of the law—disqualifying whom they saw fit—our people, disgusted, have not gone forward to register . . . For Heaven's sake give this your immediate attention."66 F. I. Herron protested that Sheridan did not follow Stanbery's decision when it did come out: furthermore, that "the Registrars are permitted to decide according to their [sic] own feelings, and are rejecting large numbers for the most trivial reasons, who are properly and legally entitled to vote."67 Sheridan's removal of Governor Wells as an "impediment" caused more protests.68 His defense was that, when he arrived, every office in the State had been filled with rebels, that they had used their positions to embarrass registration, 69 and that they charged him with a desire to Africanize the State by enfranchising all the negroes and illegally disfranchising most of the whites.70 The New Orleans Times charged that 13,000 legal voters had been disfranchised

and CXIII, 15373. 64 New Orleans Crescent, April 16, to May 22. 65 New Orleans Crescent, May 23 and 24.

66 Johnson MSS, CXII, 15285.

 <sup>62</sup> Clipped in Charleston (S. C.) Mercury, April 16, 1867; for other orders see Sen. Ex.
 Doc. 14 (40 Cong. 1 Sess.) pp. 242 ff.; also Stanton MSS, XXXII, 56382.
 63 Stanton MSS, XXXII, 56389, 56401, 56447, 56451, 56494; Johnson MSS, CXII, 15324

 <sup>67</sup> Herron to Johnson, June 4, 1867, in Johnson MSS, CXIII, 15612 ff.
 68 Sheridan to Stanton, telegram, June 5, 1867, in Stanton MSS, XXXII, 56495; also Steedman to Johnson, telegram, June 24, 1867, in Johnson MSS, CXV, 15854. House Ex. Doc. 1, Part 1, (40 Cong. 2 Sess.), vol. 2, pp. 378-81; also Sheridan to Grant, August 3, in Johnson MSS, CXVII, 16309.
 New Orleans Crescent, June 9, 1867.

by improper construction of the military laws. 71 John T. Monroe, who had been removed by Sheridan from the mayoralty of New Orleans, protested to Johnson that "through the agency of a corrupt System of registration," and "Having ejected from office good and true men," Sheridan had made it impossible for conservatives to carry the State. 72 Finally, the leading conservative papers, which had been preaching registration for the purpose of winning the election, gave up the ghost, and said there was no longer any reason to organize.73 The election was quiet, for, "The victory was conceded in advance to those on whose side the policy of Congress so clearly leaned."74

When the convention met on November 23, 1867, the conservative press ridiculed it because the delegates did not represent the real population of the State. "So far," said the Crescent, "as the genuine public opinion of that political community formerly known as Louisiana is concerned, the Convention might as well meet in Patagonia or the Feejee Islands."75 After weeks of wasting time over the per diem, the convention got down to business of disfranchising the rebels. On January 9, 1868, an ordinance was offered, decitizenizing, until January 1, 1878, all who had supported the Confederacy.76 The negroes, as usual, did not wish severe disfranchisement; hence Tinchant and Martin made speeches against the very first resolutions that were offered.77 As originally framed, the article on disfranchisement was rather mild;78 but Waples secured a substitute which became the famous Article 99 and which William A. Dunning calls the most stringent disfranchising clause in all the radical Constitutions. 79 The negro, Tinchant, voted against it, "Because having been taught to look upon the men of my race as fully equal to the white men, and able to fight their way through without the help of any political proscriptive measure directed against their opponents," he did not feel they needed such aid. 80 P. B. S. Pinchback, negro, said: "I vote against the article because I firmly

<sup>71</sup> Cited by Ficklen, op. cit., p. 198.
72 Monroe to Johnson, September 17, 1867, in Johnson MSS, CXXI, 17061 ff.
73 Such as the New Orleans Crescent, September 27, 1867.
74 Ibid., October 1, 1867. See also October 3, 1867.
75 November 23, 1867.
76 Official Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention, for Framing a Constitution for State of Louisiana. By Authority. (New Orleans, 1867-68), p. 139. the State of Louisiana. By Authority. (New Orleans, 1867-68), p. 139.

77 Ibid., pp. 182-3.

78 Ibid., pp. 256-8.

79 Dunning, Civil War and Reconstruction, p. 197, cited by Ficklen, op. cit., p. 199.

80 Journal, op. cit., 259.

believe that two-thirds of the colored men of this State do not desire disfranchisement to such a great extent."<sup>81</sup> Judge T. S. Crawford protested against the Constitution because its proscription invited "the mean and unprincipled to participate in voting and holding office, and to drive away the good and honorable."<sup>82</sup> But a union of negroes and conservatives could not avail and the Waples clause went into the Constitution.

Article 99 began by disfranchising those convicted of treason. The second paragraph must be read to be appreciated:

All persons are estopped from claiming the right of suffrage by abjuring their allegiance to the United States government, or by notoriously levying war against it, or adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort, but who have not expatriated themselves, nor have been convicted of any of the crimes mentioned in the first paragraph of this article, are hereby restored to the said right, except the following: Those who held office, civil or military, for one year or more, under the organization styled "the Confederate States of America"; those who registered themselves as enemies of the United States; those who acted as leaders of guerilla bands during the late rebellion; those who, in the advocacy of treason, wrote or published newspaper articles or preached sermons during the late rebellion; and those who voted for and signed an ordinance of secession in any State. No person included in these exceptions shall either vote or hold office until he shall have relieved himself by voluntarily writing and signing a certificate setting forth that he acknowledges the late rebellion to have been morally and politically wrong, and that he regrets any aid and comfort he may have given it; and he shall file the certificate in the office of the secretary of state, and it shall be published in the official journal: Provided, That no person who, prior to the first of January, eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, favored the execution of the laws of the United States, popularly known as the reconstruction acts of Congress, and openly and actively assisted the loyal men of the State in their efforts to restore Louisiana to her position in the Union, shall be held to be included among those excepted. Registrars of voters shall take the oath of any such person as prima facie evidence of the fact that he is entitled to the benefit of this proviso.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 259. For debates of Valfroit and Belden against disfranchisement, see pp. 259, 265-6, 293.
 <sup>82</sup> For other objections, see speeches of Harrison, Martin, Tinchant, Demarest, Lindeling, Barret, Cooley and Crawford, Ibid., 277, 279, 280, 285, 290-2.

Article 100 provided an oath for office-holders. They must

... accept the civil and political equality of all men, and agree not to attempt to deprive any person or persons, on account of race, color, or previous condition, of any political or civil right, privilege, or immunity enjoyed by any other class of men ... \*\*

There were at least three features which made this system of disfranchisement seem so unfair to conservatives: first, it provided a bait for perjurers to get themselves restored if they joined the Republican party; second, it required an oath which forced an officer to accept the civil and political equality of negroes—an oath which many whites could not conscientiously take; and third, it required rebels to swear that secession had been "morally" wrong. The New Orleans *Times* had perhaps as trenchant a criticism of the disfranchisement in the Constitution as could have been written:

Our constitution mongers propose to disfranchise all who ever approved of the odious doctrine of secession. Happy, Jefferson, Monroe, Josiah Quincy, and all the other founders of our Government, that you died when you did. You would now be disfranchised in the Republic which you established; disfranchised by such learned sages and patriots as may be seen assembled in the hall on Dryades street in this city.

"Our New Constitutional Jurists," it continued, have overthrown Madison, Jay, Kent, Story, Grotius, Puffendorf and Wheaton, and, aided by "the Military Pentarchists," have originated new constitutional procedures nullifying Magna Carta and all the other great documents. The old jurists of the past now give over to the "great Sanhedrins of political wisdom and a more enlightened humanitarianism, assembled in Montgomery, Ala., and on Dryades street in this city." The new principles are these: Constitutions should prescribe penalties for offenses without trial; a test-oath is a better method of securing conviction than trial by jury; political rights must depend upon sworn allegiance to one political party and renunciation of other opinions; treason shall be punished without the trouble of a tedious court trial;

<sup>52</sup> The Constitution can be found in House Ex. Doc. 281 (40 Cong. 2 Sess.) vol. 17, pp. 23-40. It is also discussed by Ficklen, op. cit., p. 199.

loyalty consists in oaths and fidelity to the dominant party; profession of obnoxious political ideas is just ground for disfranchisement; acts of rebellion against the Government may be condoned, but declarations of political heresy never; all citizens ought to be ready to swear they will hold certain political ideas forever; and all old-fashioned personal rights are abolished and extinguished.84

Upon Hancock, who had now taken charge of the District, devolved the task of holding the election on this Constitution. He changed many of Sheridan's strict interpretations regarding the disfranchising provisions of the Reconstruction Acts, but the damage had already been done. In due course of time the Constitution was accepted by a vote of 66,152 to 48,739 in May, 1868. Then came the usual problem as to whether the iron-clad oath of 1862 would be required of the members of the new government. Grant thought the oath in the State Constitution would be sufficient. 85 Finally the matter was settled by a telegram from Wilson, Boutwell, Farnsworth and Paine to the new Governor, H. C. Warmoth, saying that persons disfranchised by the Fourteenth Amendment were not eligible to the new legislature, but that the question of eligibility was to be determined by each house.86 When the legislature met, on June 29, 1868, the radicals, who were in majority, proceeded, under the control of two negroes (Dunn, President of the Senate, and Isabelle, temporary chairman of the House) to expel all Democrats who could not take the iron-clad and the oaths in the Constitution. The Democrats were, of course, enraged; the New Orleans Times rightly called it a "grotesquely impudent and exquisitely absurd" act.87 A new riot seemed possible until the police and a regiment of artillery were called out. In the end, the legislature became disturbed and rescinded its act by recalling the Democrats. It then passed the Fourteenth Amendment and the State was re-admitted to the Union. Since Article 99 of the Constitution allowed recantation, the legislature, on September 7, 1868, passed a registration law for such as were willing to recant.88

<sup>84</sup> New Orleans Times, December 19 and 20, 1867.
85 Annual Cyclopaedia, 1868, p. 434.
86 Senate Report 192, (40 Cong. 3 Sess) p. 34.
87 Ficklen, op. cit., pp. 203-04. The evition of Democrats was, indeed, "grotesquely impudent", but the new Georgia legislature, controlled by conservatives, threw out all negroes, a few weeks later.
88 Annual Cyclopaedia, 1868, p. 436.

Louisiana was now a paradise for radicals and negroes: yet, strangely enough, disfranchisement under the radical Constitution did not last long. For party reasons, the Republicans found that it paid them to favor re-enfranchisement in order to get new recruits. Hence, in the session of 1868-69, the radical legislature passed a law allowing rebels who had had their disabilities removed by Congress and who had taken the oath of allegiance, as of the act of July 11, 1868, to be eligible for voting and office-holding.89 This was not much, but it was a beginning. In this session, also, an amendment to remove Article 99 from the Constitution had been discussed. Governor Warmoth urged its passage in his message of 1869: "I regretted its insertion in the constitution, favored the proposition to abrogate it at the late session, and now officially recommend it."90 In the session of 1870 the amendment was re-introduced by a bitter opponent of the Democrats—yet it aroused little debate. 91 The Republicans said they favored it because, Grant now being President, it was safer to allow rebels to participate in the government.92 The amendment passed both houses almost unanimously and in the elections of 1870 was accepted by a large majority.93 Warmoth, in his annual message of January 11, 1871, congratulated both the party and the State for this act; his words are remarkably significant when it is remembered that the insertion of disfranchising clauses in the Constitution was felt to be so necessary to the welfare of the radical party:

Incorporated in our Constitution through an unwise spirit of retaliation, and by its peculiar phraseology serving mainly to irritate and humiliate, while debarring from suffrage and office only the most scrupulous and upright of the class it was aimed against, and admitting all others, it had all of the most odius features of disfranchisement and none of its good effects, if such there be. It is to the lasting credit of the first Republican administration of Louisiana that the amendment to strike out this last vestige of the War in our Constitution was passed with the unanimous Republican vote of the General Assembly and indorsed unanimously by the people. It is no longer a part of the Constitution. Henceforth in Louisiana all dis-

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Ella Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana, after 1868 (New York, 1918) p. 10.
 <sup>90</sup> Annual Cyclopaedia, 1869, p. 394.

<sup>91</sup> Lonn, op. cit., p. 57.
92 Debates of the Senate of Louisiana, January 12, 1870, pp. 54-63.
93 Annual Cyclopaedia, 1870, p. 457.

abilities resulting from the War are removed, and no citizen is disfranchised by its laws except for crime or mental disability.<sup>94</sup>

The outright honesty of these words is admirable; but their very honesty condemns the whole structure of radical disfranchisement as unwise and vengeful—since the condemnation came from the very man elected to office through disfranchisement. Like the rest of the radical State governments, Louisiana found that disfranchisement did not pay.

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<sup>94</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>95</sup> For Warmoth's story, see Henry Clay Warmoth, War, Politics and Reconstruction; Stormy Days in Louisiana, (New York, 1930), pp. 105 ff.

# WHITE SUPREMACY IN THE SOUTH

The Battle for Constitutional Government in New Orleans, July 30, 1866

## By FRANCIS P. BURNS

Four years of war were required to settle the constitutional problem of the right of the Sovereign States of the United States which formed that section of the American Union of Independent Commonwealths, know as the South, to detach themselves from the Confederation founded on the Articles of partnership executed by the convention of delegates at Philadelphia on September 17, 1787. Although the importation into this country of slaves from Africa was specifically sanctioned and permitted by the very terms of the Constitution, the question of the right of property in, and dominion over, a subject race of colored people had gradually become inseparable from the above problem.

The Emancipation Proclamation was issued by President Lincoln on January 1, 1863, in which he declared that slaves were henceforth free in all the States resisting the Union on that date. And on April 9, 1865, at Appomattox Court House, General Robert L. Lee, on behalf of his once powerful army, accepted defeat for the South—a defeat which fixed forever the status of the black race and wiped out the millions of value represented by the investment in its bondage. And to Lee's surviving comrades, returning to the scenes of sorrow and financial ruin that followed Appomattox, ever recurred the thought: Was the decision of war to mean not only the visible losses of the moment but also the establishment of the subject race as masters of the future?

This grave and serious problem was immediately accentuated by the activities of certain northern radicals, who not only conceived the scheme of confiscating as conquered territory every rood of land in the Southern States, but also planned to place over the defeated and evicted former owners their ignorant black

<sup>1</sup> Constitution of the United States, Art. 1, Sec. 9.

slaves just released from slavery, not only unfitted for the duties of freemen, but whose ignorance, primitive passions and hatreds it was believed would make them easy tools through which the northern radicals could reek their vengeance on the defeated South. These fanatics persevered and soon laid the foundations of their plan, by creating "The Joint Committee of Congress on the Reconstruction of the Southern States."

It was Lincoln's purpose to have his reconstruction program adopted as a constitutional amendment, but Thaddeus Stevens and his fellow conspirators in the Republican party had other views, and the key note was sounded by Stevens in his great speech at Lancaster. Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts, had voiced this view when he declard that,<sup>2</sup>

"Any vote of secession becomes a practical abdication of all rights under the Constitution, . . . so that from that time forward, the territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, and the State ceases to exist."

On another occasion Thaddeus Stevens declared:3

"Congress must treat these States now outside of the Union as conquered provinces, and settle them with new men, and turn the present rebels as exiles from this country."

When the joint resolution to reorganize the government in Louisiana was adopted by the Senate in February, 1865, Charles Sumner of Massachusetts said:

"The pretended State Government of Louisiana is utterly indefensible, whether you look at its origin or its character. It is a mere seven months abortion whose continued existence will be a burden and a reproach and a wrong."

At this time the government of Louisiana was operating under the Constitution which had been adopted in July, 1864. It had been Lincoln's plan to consider that the Southern States

<sup>3</sup> Congressional Globe, 37th Cong., 1st Sess., Part 1, p. 217. <sup>4</sup> Ibid., 38th Cong., 2 Sess., Part 2, p. 1129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> C. H. McCarthy, Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction, pp. 196-197.

should still be treated as members of the Union, with all their old laws and institutions intact except slavery, and that the elective franchise should be gradually bestowed upon the freedmen as they proved themselves capable of exercising it. This suggestion Lincoln had conveyed to Governor Michael Hahn of Louisiana, and the very last public speech made by Lincoln was on the night he was shot, and dealt with his policy on reconstruction in Louisiana.

But this conciliatory attitude of Lincoln was not at all pleasing to Thaddeus Stevens, and at the session of Congress in December, 1865, the Joint Committee of Congress on the Reconstruction of the Southern States was brought into being. During the summer Charles Sumner had written to Thaddeus Stevens, expressing his views regarding the attempt of President Andrew Johnson to carry out the Lincoln policy on reconstruction, as follows:

"I am glad you are laboring to avert the President's (Andrew Johnson) fatal policy. I wish the prospects of success were better. I have twice written him to stay his hand 'till Congress meets. Of course, he pays no attention to it. Our editors are cowardly sycophants. I would make a speech as you suggest if a fair occasion offered. Our views were embodied in our resolution (the Republican State Convention) recently held at Harrisburg, amidst much chaff. Negro support was passed over as being premature. Get the rebel states into territorial condition and they can be easily dealt with. That, I think, should be our great aim. Then Congress can manage it."

There were a few men in the then dominant political party whose far-seeing eyes were not closed and whose hearts held a trace of magnanimity for the defeated and prostrate foe. Among them was Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy in the cabinet of President Johnson, and in writing of the reconstruction plan devised by Stevens and his Central Directory he said:

"No one can read the propositions submitted without seeing that the whole scheme is one for party ascendancy. The result will be, after a struggle perhaps of years, the ultimate overwhelming and disgraceful defeat of the authors and their party."

Moorefield Story, Charles Sumner, pp. 299-300.
T. K. Lothrop, William H. Seward, p. 171.

As the end of the war approached, the Southerners were fighting with the furious courage of desperation. They knew and felt what Thaddeus Stevens and his followers had in store for them, and this state of mind was best expressed in the letter written by Jefferson Davis in 1865, in which he said:7

"The people of the Confederacy can be but little known to him who supposes it possible that they would ever consent to the purchase, at the cost of degradation and slavery, permission to live in a country garrisoned by their own negroes, and governed by officers sent by the conquerers to work over them."

As an indication of the concrete form in which the fears of the Southern people were realized by the oppressive laws adopted by Congress under the guidance of Thaddeus Stevens and his Joint Committe, we briefly excerpt from the Act of March 2, 1867, which divided the rebel States into five military districts, the following:8

"SECTION 3. That it shall be the duty of the Officer (in charge of any military district) to protect all persons in their rights of person or property . . . And to this end, he may allow local civil tribunals to take jurisdiction of and try offenders, or, when in his judgment it may be necessary for the trial of offenders, he shall have power to organize military commissions or tribunals for that purpose, and all interference under color of State authority with the exercise of military authority under the act shall be null and void."

The bill to divide the Southern States into five military districts was introduced by Thaddeus Stevens, who, in making a speech in behalf of the bill, said:9

"It (the bill) provides that the ten disorganized States shall be divided into five military districts; that the Commander of the Army shall have charge of them, through his officers, . . . who shall have the general supervision of the peace, quiet and protection of the people, loyal and disloyal, who reside within those precincts; and that to do so, he may use, as the law of nations would

J. D. Richardson (editor), Messages and Papers of the Confederacy, Vol. I, p. 551.
 Act of Congress, March 2, 1867, Ch. 153, 14 Stat., 428.
 James G. Blaine, Twenty Years of Congress, Vol. II, p. 251.

authorize him to do, the legal tribunals whenever he may deem them competent; but these tribunals are to be considered of no validity per se, of no intrinsic force, of no force in consequence of their origin; the question being wholly within the power of the conqueror, and to remain until that conqueror shall permanently supply their place with something else. This is the whole bill. It does not need much examination. One night's rest after its reading is enough to digest it."

On the other hand, there were some Representatives in Congress who were still imbued with a spirit of veneration and respect for constitutional law; and Mr. John A. Bingham of Ohio, in answering Mr. Stevens' remarks, said:10

"For myself, sir, I am not going to yield to the proposition of the chairman of the committee, for a single moment, that one rood of the territory within the line of the ten States enumerated in this bill is conquered territory. The Government of the United States does not conquer any territory that is under the jurisdiction of the Constitution."

By a supplementary act of Congress of July 19, 1867, authority was given to the Commander of any military district to suspend or remove any civil officers performing State duties. Congress thus gave to the military commanders authority to try any person by court martial for any alleged infraction of government regulations and to suspend all civil officers; and, in one stroke, all the laws of the Southern States dealing with the civil rights of the inhabitants were abrogated by the Congress and not by the Supreme Court of the United States. All removals or suspensions were reviewable only by the General of the Army, and a law was passed taking away from the President of the United States actual direct control of the Army which had been granted him by the Constitution. This provision of the Act reads as follows:

"SECTION 2. That the headquarters of the General of the Army of the United States shall be at the city of Washington, and all orders and instructions relating to military operations issued by the President or Secretary

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., Vol. II, p. 252.

<sup>11</sup> Act of Congress, March 2, 1867, Ch. 170, 14 Stat., 485.

of War shall be issued through the Genearl of the Army.
... The General of the Army shall not be removed, suspended, or relieved from command, or assigned to duty elsewhere than at headquarters, except at his own request, without the prior approval of the Senate. .. any officer who shall obey any order contrary to the provisions of this section ... shall be liable to imprisonment for not less than two nor more than twenty years . . . in the discretion of the Court."

On April 15, 1865, eight days after Appomattox, on Good Friday night, the bullet of the assassin had cut short the life of Lincoln. There are many who still feel that if Lincoln had lived the South would have been spared the horrors of reconstruction. The facts of history negative this optimistic and hopeful theory.

The terms granted by Grant to Lee were magnanimous; but three days before the death of Lincoln, Thaddeus Stevens had denounced the terms of the surrender and added the declaration that he would dispossess those participating in the rebellion of "every foot of ground they pretended to own." It is a further fact of history that Lincoln had been dead but eight hours when the first steps were initiated by Stevens, Sumner, and their fellow conspirators to lay their plan for the reconstruction of the South.

The evil genius of Reconstruction undoubtedly was Stevens, and the whole scheme of the reconstruction by Congress was first given authoritative voice by him in a speech at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in October, 1865. So important was this speech of Stevens felt to be that it immediately appeared in pamphlet form and was widely distributed all over the country.

It was Stevens' theory that the Southern leaders could not be tried for treason, because that would amount to a recognition that the States to which they belonged were part of the Union and to try these leaders would be to act under the Constitution with trials in the Southern States where no jury would convict. Stevens declared that he would rather treat with the Southern people as with an alien enemy, and, by treating them as an outside, conquered people, they could be refused admission into the Union unless they voluntarily did what Stevens and his associates on the Reconstruction Committee demanded. One of their demands to be made on the Southern States as they requested re-admission into the Union was that they should approve the Fourteenth Amendment.

Stevens denounced the work of Lincoln and Johnson as "a bastard reconstruction." It was his theory to hold courts martial, and he advanced the rule of international law laid down by Vattel, that a conqueror "may indemnify himself for the expense and damage he has sustained." In short, it was estimated by him that there were 465,000,000 acres of land in the conquered territory, of which 394,000,000 were subject to confiscation; and he proposed to give every adult negro "forty acres and a mule," because of a provision in the Act of Congress, reading in part as follows: 14

"The Commissioner . . . shall set apart for the use of loyal refugees and freedmen, such tracts of land within the insurrectionary States . . . to which the United States shall have acquired title by confiscation . . . and to every male refugee or freedman . . . there shall be assigned not more than forty acres of such land."

Stevens then declared that he would divide the balance of the land into suitable farms, to be sold at \$10 per acre, and the amount realized would be used to pay pensions to the Northern soldiers, to defray damages sustained by loyal Union men, and to apply on the payment of the National debt. He announced that his wonderful scheme would affect only some 70,000 land owners in the South, and stated that it would "be far easier and more beneficial to exile 70,000 proud, bloated and defiant rebels than to expatriate 4,000,000 laborers native to the soil and loyal to the government." And this vindictive and merciless old man, boldly proclaiming his scheme, said: "Let all who approve of these principles tarry with us; let all others go with the copperheads and rebels. Those will be the opposing parties." 16

<sup>.12</sup> James A. Woodburn, Life of Thaddeus Stevens, p. 456.

Claude G. Bowers, The Tragic Era, p. 19.
 Act of Congress, March 3, 1865, Sec. 4, 13 Stat, 507.

<sup>18</sup> Bowers, op. cit., p. 19. 18 Ibid., pp. 19-20.

Another radical reconstructionist was J. M. Ashley, also a member of Congress, who said: "The radicals under God intend to crush any party or any man who stands up against universal suffrage."17

Yet, there were men in Congress who were loyally and courageously supporting Andrew Johnson in his efforts to restore peaceful conditions in the South according to constitutional authority. One of them said: "I disagree with those who think these States are but territories. We fought upon the theory that a State cannot secede."18

Joseph Egerton of Indiana, another member of the House of Representatives, speaking on one of the reconstruction bills, said:19

"This bill embodies a spirit and purpose towards the Southern people which, if impolitic and vindictive a year ago, when the bill first came before the House, is still more impolitic and vindictive at this time when the minds of all good men are searching diligently for ways of reconciliation and peace."

These men, however, were powerless, as Stevens and the members of his reconstruction committee were in power.

Immediately after the opening of Congress, December 4, 1865, there was introduced and adopted the following resolution which was the genesis of all the days of tribulation that visited the Southern States following the close of the Civil War:20

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representa-tives in Congress assembled, That a joint committee of fifteen members shall be appointed, nine of whom shall be members of the House, and six members of the Senate, who shall inquire into the condition of the States which formed the so-called Confederate States of America, and report whether they, or any of them, are entitled to be represented in either house of Congress; no member shall be received into either house from any of the said so-called Confederate States; and all papers relating to the representation of said States shall be referred to the said committee without debate."

<sup>17</sup> New York Herald, June 17, 1865.

<sup>18</sup> Bowers, op. cit., p. 13.
19 McCarthy, op. cit., p. 303.
20 Journal of the Senate, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., Dec. 4, 1865.

The committee which was authorized to be created by the foregoing resolution was composed of the following members of the Senate and House:

#### Senate Members:

James Wilson Grimes, Iowa, Republican; Reverdy Johnson, Maryland, Democrat; George H. Williams, Oregon, Union Republican; William Pitt Fessenden, Maine, Republican; Jacob Merritt Howard, Michigan, Republican; Ira Harris, New York, Republican.

### House Members:

Henry T. Blow, Missouri, Republican; John A. Bingham, Ohio, Republican; Roscoe Conkling, New York, Republican; Andrew J. Rogers, New Jersey, Democrat; Justin Smith Morrill, Vermont, Republican; Elijah Hise, Kentucky, Democrat; Elihu Benj. Washburne, Illinois, Republican; Thaddeus Stevens, Pennsylvania, Republican; George S. Boutwell, Massachusetts, Republican.

Twelve of the fifteen members of the committee were Republicans, and Thaddeus Stevens became the chairman. Thus it was evident from the start of their activities that the actions of such a committee would be of a partisan nature, and that their conclusions would be featured by radicalism in dealing with the prostrate South.

Thus, we come to a consideration of the conditions in Louisiana that preceded the fateful day of July 30, 1866. The City of New Orleans fell before the Union forces, and on May 1, 1862, General Benjamin F. Butler landed with his soldiers. General Butler was a member of Congress during the period of reconstruction, was a bitter adversary of Andrew Johnson, and acted as one of the House Managers in the impeachment proceedings.

General Butler was succeeded by General Nathaniel P. Banks, and he too was a member of the House of Representatives, and gave his testimony before the select committee of that body which investigated the riot in New Orleans of July 30, 1866.

In pursuance to a general order of Major General Banks, Michael Hahn, then Governor of Louisiana, issued a proclamation calling an election for the first Monday in April, 1864, for the selection of delegates to a convention,<sup>21</sup>

"In order that the organic law of the State may be made to conform to the will of the people and harmonize with the spirit of the age, as well as to maintain and preserve the ancient landmarks of civil and religious liberty."

This Convention met on Wednesday, April 6, 1864, with some ninety-two delegates; it ended its labors on July 25, 1864. On the final day of the convention, and after the Constitution had been duly completed, but before signatures of the delegates had been affixed thereunto, one Rufus King Cutler offered the following resolution, around which almost all of the history of reconstruction in Louisiana is centered:<sup>22</sup>

"Resolved, That when this convention adjourns, it shall be at the call of the President, whose duty it shall be to reconvoke the Convention for any cause, or in case the constitution should not be ratified, for the purpose of taking such measures as may be necessary for the formation of a civil government for the State of Louisiana. He shall also, in that case, call upon the proper officers of the State to cause elections to be held to fill any vacancies that may exist in the convention in parishes where the same may be practicable.

"Resolved, That in case of ratification of the constitution, it shall be in the power of the Legislature of the State, at its first session, to reconvoke the Convention, in like manner, in case it should be deemed expedient or necessary, for the purpose of making amendments or additions to the Constitution that may, in the opinion of the Legislature, require a reassembling of the convention, or, in the case of the occurrence of any emergency requiring its action.

"Resolved, That no per diem of members shall be allowed during the adjournment."

Judge Edmund Abell, a member of the Convention, and who afterwards figured largely in the incidents of the riot of July 30, 1866, in opposing the foregoing resolution, said:23

23 Ibid., p. 628.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Report of the Committee on the New Orleans Riots, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 16, p. 2.
<sup>22</sup> Reports of the Debates of the Louisiana Constitutional Convention, April 6, 1864, p. 623.

"I think the duties of this body will be done when they have signed the constitution. And now I will say to my learned friend there, that when I die, I wish to be buried and not to be suspended like the corpse of Mahomet. As soon as our duties are completed I think we ought to go out of existence as a convention. I believe we are defunct as a convention as soon as the object for which we were called together is accomplished.—I think we have discharged our duty and have no power to go further. Should a majority of this body do so, it will only be for the purpose of misrepresenting the people. If they don't adopt this constitution they will ignore us. If they approve our work they will have no further use for us. Therefore, I say when we have signed the constitution, a good, honest constitution, as I grant it is in many respects, let us cease to exist as a convention, and let the people, if they ignore us by rejecting our work, elect servants who will represent their views more faithfully. If we have been faithful, and the people think so, they will re-elect us."

The resolution was then put to a vote and was adopted by a vote of 62 yeas to 24 nays.

The Constitution of 1864 as thus adopted contained the following provision on the subject of suffrage:24

"ART. 14. Every white male who has attained the age of twenty-one years, and who has been a resident of the State twelve months next preceding the election, and the last three months thereof in the Parish in which he offers to vote, and who shall be a citizen of the United States, shall have the right of voting.

"ART. 15. The legislature shall have power to pass laws extending suffrage to such other persons, citizens of the United States, as by military service, by taxation to support the government, or by intellectual fitness may be deemed entitled thereto."

Article 15 was intended to apply to negroes. For that reason it was first struck out, but was reintroduced, and finally adopted. However, as later history showed, the Southern leaders regained control of the State offices, and apparently of the legislature; hence the necessity of attempting a reconvening

<sup>24</sup> Constitution of Louisiana, 1884. Title III, Articles 14 and 15.

of the constitutional convention by the radicals in 1866, with the purpose of disfranchising the white male voters and enfranchising the negroes.

According to the admissions of Messrs. Eliot and Shellabarger, both Republicans, composing the majority of the select committee of Congress appointed to investigate the riot in New Orleans, and who apparently were hostile to the South, the Constitution of 1864 was submitted to the people of the State residing within the military lines on September 5, 1864, and was ratified by a vote of 6836 yeas to 1566 nays. State elections were subsequently held under the constitution and all the machinery of government worked in pursuance thereto.

Messrs. Eliot and Shellabarger, in discussing the adoption of the Constitution of 1864, had this to say:25

"The facts connected with the action of the people in ratifying this constitution—the character of the proceedings before and during the time the polls were open, and the question whether and to what extent the constitution thus acted upon became the organic law of the State, have not been examined or considered by the committee. The constitution has, in fact, operated, and its provisions have been accepted and observed.

"By the terms of the resolution above cited it was made the duty of the president to reconvoke the convention in case the constitution should not be ratified, in order to take the necessary steps for the formation of a civil government for the State. The constitution having been held to be ratified, as stated, that no occasion did arise for re-assembling the convention, and no power existed for recalling its members, excepting that which is found in the first clause of the resolution, to-wit: "That when this convention adjourns it shall be at the call of the president, whose duty it shall be to reconvoke the convention for any cause."

In January, 1866, a bill was introduced in the legislature to take "the sense of the people on the expediency of calling a convention to form a constitution, and to provide for the election of delegates, and for the holding of the convention."<sup>26</sup>

26 Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>25</sup> Report on the New Orleans Riots, p. 2.

The legislature was about to adopt the bill when Messrs. D. S. Cage and J. B. Eustis, a special committee having called on President Johnson and Secretary Seward, wired to James McConnell and others in the legislature not to pass the bill, as to do so would seriously embarrass the President's reconstruction policy. The bill did not therefore become law.

In contrasting the excitement aroused by the action of the radical members of the Convention of 1864 to reconvene the convention in 1866, Messrs. Eliot and Shellabarger had this to say about the state of the public mind regarding the proposed action of the legislature:<sup>27</sup>

"Although this bill was a palpable violation of the Constitution, and although any convention called pursuant to its provisions would be an 'unlawful assembly' for the same reasons urged against the convention of 1866, the rules of the House of Representatives were suspended -but it failed, not because the proposed convention would be illegal and its members subject to police arrests or Judge Abell's anathemas, but because the agitation of the question would seriously embarrass the President's reconstruction policy. But no popular excitement was feared because of that proposed convention, although it would be clearly revolutionary, and would seek to change the existing government. The objects then sought to be attained were in harmony with the disloyal sentiment of the majority of the legislature and their constituents. If the convention of 1866 was such an 'unlawful assembly' as it was charged to be, and its members subject to arrest as criminals, the House of Representatives was itself, by its own showing an 'unlawful assembly' also, and fairly exposed to the action of Monroe and his police. In the bill which was passed by that house it is found and declared in the preamble that the constitution of 1864, under which the legislature was chosen, 'was the creation of fraud and violence, and not in any sense the expression of the will of the people of the State.' If that was true, as the house declared it to be, then the constitution itself was not entitled to respect as law, and the House of Representatives was usurping the powers of legislation."

After reading the foregoing statements of Messrs. Eliot and Shellabarger, attention must be called to the second paragraph

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

of the resolution adopted by the convention of 1864, which expressly gave to the legislature the power to reconvoke the convention in the very same manner as the conventionists themselves attempted to do. If what the legislature attempted to do was unlawful, then what the radical members of the convention of 1864 likewise attempted to do was unlawful because, as Judge Abell aptly expressed it, the functions of the convention were at an end once the constitution was ratified and acted under; and this Messrs. Eliot and Shellabarger admit. Assuredly then, if a constitution confected by representatives of the people is duly approved by them, then the matter of a new constitution is a question for the people to decide; and the legislature in January, 1866, proposed a law to ascertain if it was the will of the people that a new constitution should be drafted by representatives whom they would select. Under Article 147 of the constitution of 1864, the legislature had power in itself to propose amendments to the existing constitution to be ratified by the people, but it was thought better to propose to the people the question of forming an entirely new constitution; however, this proposal was dropped for the reasons before stated.

However, Messrs. Eliot and Shellabarger seized upon the contemplated action of the legislature as excusing, or supporting the alleged legality of the rump convention attempted in 1866 by the radical element of the convention of 1864.

The select committee of the House of Representatives appointed to inquire into the "bloody riots" which took place in the City of New Orleans on July 30, 1866, had one friend of the Southern people in its membership. He was B. M. Boyer, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, and the following is his statement on the subject of the legality of the constitution of 1864 and of the abortive attempt of the radical element of the prior convention to reconvoke the convention for the expressed purpose of "disfranchising the white Southerners and enfranchising the colored citizens:"<sup>28</sup>

"The Constitution of Louisiana then, and still, in force had been framed by a convention of delegates elected by the people in obedience to a general order of Major Gen-

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp. 87-88.

eral Banks, then military commander of the department of the Gulf, issued on the 11th of March, 1864, followed by a proclamation of Governor Michael Hahn, then provisional Governor of Louisiana, authorizing an election to be held on the 28th day of the same month for de'egates to the constitutional convention.

"Whatever difference of opinion might exist in reference to the regularity or legality of assembling a convention for such purposes by such authority is immaterial in an argument against the powers of the convention of 1866; because, whatever authority the members of the latter might have possessed must have been derived from their authority as members of the former, and if the convention of 1864 is not to be treated as legal, the convention of 1866 had not even the pretext of lawful existence.

"Indeed, the convention of 1864, emanating from the order of a major general commanding a military department, can be regarded as legitimate only because its proceedings received the general acquiescence of the people. as evidenced by the following facts: A majority of the Parishes in the State had chosen delegates, whose election was duly certified, and the convention met on the appointed day and proceeded to frame a constitution, which was adopted, published and submitted to a vote of the people of the State; it was by them accepted at a general election held for that purpose on the first Monday in September, 1864. The result of the election was announced by the proclamation of the governor, and the constitution declared to have been duly adopted as the constitution of the State of Louisiana. The constitution so adopted and ratified went into effect and was as such recognized and obeyed by the people of the State. Under it the civil government of Louisiana was completely reorganized. All the offices in the State have been filled, and two successive legislatures have assembled, in accordance with its provisions.

"The constitution of 1864 was framed in conformity to what were then supposed to be the demands of the time. It abolished slavery and prohibited the passage of any law recognizing the right of property in man. It conferred upon the legislature the power to extend suffrage to such colored citizens of the United States, 'as by military service, taxation to support the government, or by intellectual fitness may be deemed entitled thereto.' It disqualified from holding any office of trust or profit in the State, and excluded from the right of suffrage, those convicted of 'treason.' It provided that 'no liability, either

State, parochial, or municipal shall exist for any debts contracted for or in the interest of the rebellion against the United States government.'

"Such was the constitution framed by themselves, with which the conventionists of July 30th, 1866, had become dissatisfied, and which they proposed to alter by reconvening the convention of 1864, through the preliminary action of a minority of those that composed that body.

"The binding effect of the proceedings of the convention of 1864 was not disputed by those who initiated the movement of July 30th, 1866. On the contrary, they pretended that the functions of that convention had not been exhausted; and that, notwithstanding all that had transpired since its adjournment in 1864, it might be reassembled to review and undo its own work. They pretended to find authority for this in a resolution adopted by the convention before its adjournment, providing for a reassembling of the convention at the call of the president, but not incorporated in the constitution itself, and evidently not intended to apply after the ratification of the constitution by the people."

The legislature of the State held a regular session and adjourned in March, 1866. After that the conventionists made their move. No amendment to the constitution could be made except such as might be proposed by the legislature under Article 147, and voted on by the people. The conventionists repudiated this binding section of the constitution, while at the same time contending that it was in other respects in full force and effect. Their authority to amend the constitution they pretended to derive from a source outside the constitution, to-wit, the resolution referred to above.

On the night of June 26, 1866, in an office on Carondelet street, between Canal and Common, about forty of the conventionists of 1864 met and chose Judge Rufus K. Howell as president pro-tem after it was found that Judge E. H. Durel, who had been the actually elected president of 1864, had refused to issue a call to reconvene the convention of 1864.

It will be readily apparent that the convention proposed in 1866 was destitute of both form and authority of law. The men who initiated the movement to reconvene the convention of 1864 were among the most rabid of the radicals and typical carpetbaggers in every sense of the terms. Some of these men who were thus attempting to subvert the established government were men who had been most prominent in the cause of the Confederacy during the war and had raised troops to defend the Confederacy. These revolutoinists declared it their purpose to alter the existing constitution and to interfere with the most important privileges of citizenship. Those who directed the movement boldly and publicly proclaimed it their intention to make all colored men electors, and to take away the right of suffrage from a large number of white citizens of the State.

The weak, solitary and flimsy defense made by Messrs. Eliot and Shellabarger as to the right of these radicals to reconvoke the convention of 1864 is stated by them to be that because the legislature in 1866 had proposed to pass a law calling upon the people to vote on the expediency of calling a new constitutional convention to draft a new constitution, that if such a procedure was not unlawful in the eyes of the people of the State, neither was the action of the radical members of the convention of 1864 unlawful in attempting to reconvene the convention for the express purpose of amending the constitution, although by the very terms of that instrument only the legislature had authority to propose amendments to be voted on by the people!

Now, we may ask, what was at the bottom of all this extraordinary conduct on the part of the radicals and carpet-baggers; where and what was the source of their inspiration and support in thus attempting a revolution in the government of the State?

It was brought out by the admissions of Rufus K. Howell himself that before the meeting of June 26, 1866, he had visited Washington, and there interviewed the members of the Joint Select Committee on Reconstruction. Here is what the arch enemy of the white Southerners had to say about Judge Howell's visit, excerpted from the sworn testimony of Thaddeus Stevens:<sup>29</sup>

"Q. Did Judge Howell, of Louisiana, consult with you with reference to the calling of the convention of last July?

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 489-490.

- A. Judge Howell called on me once or twice, perhaps not oftener, while he was here, and talked with me about calling the convention, suggesting what they intended to do.
- Q. Did he exhibit to you the call for the convention?
- A. I do not think he did.
- Q. Did he explain it to you?
- A. I think he did.
- Q. Did he state in what respect it was intended to amend the constitution of Louisiana in case the convention got together?
- A. I do not think that he stated the particular provision of the intended constitution further than to say that it was intended to protect the loyal men of the State.
- Q. Did he ask your opinion with reference to the legality of that which was determined on?
- A. I am not so very sure about that. I think, however, that in the course of the conversation I gave it as my opinion that as the adjourned convention had provided for its reassembling, if assembled in a peaceful manner, it would be perfectly legal.
- Q. Did he call your attention to the clause in the constitution of Louisiana providing the mode in which the constitution should be amended, if at all?
- A. I do not think I saw the constitution of Louisiana.
- Q. The resolution to which you refer was not a part of the constitution of Louisiana, did you so understand it?
- A. I did not see the constitution at all. I understood it to be one of the acts of the convention that framed the constitution that on its adjournment it provided for its reassembling.
- Q. Did you read the resolution referred to?
- A. I have no recollection of having read it. I suppose I took it from Judge Howell's account of it.
- Q. Was the question in reference to the propriety of calling the convention discussed between you and other members of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction?
- A. I have no recollection that the Committee on Reconstruction took the matter into consideration at all.
- Q. Do you recollect having written any letter in which you gave advice to the party to whom you wrote to proceed with the convention, and to do the work without regard to consequences, or any letter of that description?
- A. No, sir; I have no recollection of any such letter at all. I recollect perfectly well saying verbally to Judge Howell that I thought they had a right to meet if they did

it peaceably; that they had a right to do what they pleased when they met, provided they did not plot treason, and that if they framed a constitution and presented it to Congress I had no doubt Congress would consider it, and would consider the question of admission of delegates under it, for that I held that their present government was a bogus government. I remember giving this opinion to him, not in writing, but in conversation."

The foregoing testimony of Thaddeus Stevens frankly convicts him of aiding and abetting the attempted revolution in the State government of Louisiana. He calls a "bogus government" the same government which was the handiwork of the conventionists of 1864, and which the radicals were attempting to amend by reconvening the convention.

Mr. Boyer, in his minority report, made the direct charge that the radical members of the convention of 1864 had counted upon the active co-operation of the Joint Select Committee on Reconstruction. In reading the evasive testimony of Thaddeus Stevens already quoted, it is apparent that such was the fact. But there are other circumstances equally as plain and even more persuasive.

Under ordinary circumstances a small body of men assembling for the purpose of changing the government of a State with so little color of law might be treated as a body of harmless adventurers and might be regarded as entitled to but little public notice. But in the matter of the revolutionary movement started by the radicals and carpet-baggers in New Orleans on the night of June 26, 1866, it has to be noted that the circumstances were extraordinary and calculated to excite apprehension. For one thing, the State was under the rule of the sword and the bayonet in the hands of men who were obeying orders from a clique of politicians at Washington who would stop at nothing. Men high in government were connected with the conspiracy. A judge of the Supreme Court of Louisiana (R. K. Howell), was at the head. The Governor of the State (J. Madison Wells), encouraged it. It was public knowledge that Congress had been consulted, and would lend its assistance. Judge Howell himself admits that pending the issuance of the call for

the rump convention he had visited Washington. Practically all of the Reconstruction Committee admitted talking to Howell, but evaded the damaging admission that they gave him aid and comfort in the plan; but the facts later disclosed cast the gravest suspicion that these eminent but vindictive statesmen were telling the truth when they were sworn.

The encouragement that Howell undoubtedly received was of such a character that, when he returned to New Orleans and made it known to his friends of the convention, on July 24—six days before the meeting—a telegram was sent from New Orleans to the Washington correspondent of the New York Times, reading: "Howell has returned with the assurance that Congress will support the convention." <sup>30</sup>

It also appeared that George S. Boutwell, Representative from Massachusetts, in a speech before the Republican Caucus on July 15, is quoted as saying:<sup>31</sup>

"That he thought it very desirable that Congress should continue in session for other reasons than those which had been suggested. He would mention one. A distinguished gentleman from the South was in town from whom he had learned that the Louisiana Convention would meet on the 30th for the revision of the State Constitution, and that amendments would be adopted disfranchising the rebel and enfranchising the loyal inhabitants without distinction of color. If Congress should be in session when this constitution should be adopted, it could, in accordance with the precedent established in the Rhode Island case, accept it, and thus give it validity as the Constitution of the State.—If Congress should not be in session, a long time must elapse before action could be taken; the new government of the State might fail to get a foothold, and the country would experience a very serious calamity.'

This report of Boutwell's remarks was made by Henry J. Raymond, a member of the House of Representatives from New York. In fact, Mr. Boutwell's remarks appeared in the New York Times, from which Mr. Raymond made his corroboration.

The Hon. George S. Boutwell was not summoned as a witness to contradict the version of his speech. It is strange, too,

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 478. 31 Ibid., p. 540.

notwithstanding the foregoing statement, that the members of the Convention stated that they were merely reconvening on July 30, 1866, to ascertain which Parishes had no representation and then to adjourn to await the election in September to fill the vacancies!

It might also be noted in passing that one of the prime reasons for this scheme of subverting the existing government in Louisiana was the desire on the part of the Congressional leaders who were putting through the Civil War Amendments to secure their ratification as early as possible by the various state governments; and with the existing state government in Louisiana, which was largely in the hands of ex-Confederates, this was not possible unless the white Southerners were disfranchised and the negroes given the vote. This undoubtedly was at the bottom of the whole plan, because the votes of the Southern States were needed to constitute the required constitutional majority.

Now the second and equally interesting fact, and one which unquestionably places the stamp of guilt on the part taken by the members of the Reconstruction Committee of Congress in the conspiracy, was set forth by Captain Eugene Tisdale, a former Union Army officer:<sup>32</sup>

- "Q. How long before the convention met did you hear Dr. Dostie express himself in this way?
- A. Two weeks, I think. I also had conversations with Cutler and Henderson, who told me that instructions had been received from two members of the Reconstruction Committee to assemble the convention at all hazards.
- Q. From what members of the Reconstruction Committee?
  A. I do not know; I can find out. I remember that in the letter they said, "We are too far distant to designate the manner in which it should be assembled, but you must go ahead and trust the consequences." This was about the middle of July, I recollect. I have been promised a copy of the letter, but I have never received it; I can probably get it.
- Q. What else did you hear about the meeting of the convention?
- A. John Henderson, Jr., was a particular friend of mine. He said they had made a great mistake in the first con-

vention, but that they were going to assemble here to do what they neglected to do, when they had the opportunity. He told me their whole program, and that they were going to give the negro the right of suffrage.

Q. Did he say anything about the instructions he had re-

ceived in July?

- A. This letter to which I have referred was written in answer to a letter which was sent from here asking advice what to do. It was written by two members of the Reconstruction Committee. Henderson said they had the authority of Congress to assemble and that they should do it, although they expected to have a great deal of trouble.
- Q. Can you furnish the names of the two members of the Reconstruction Committee whom you say signed a letter in reference to the assembling of this convention?

A. No; they would not show me the address, but it had two signatures.

Q. Who are the persons who told you that they had authority from Congress to assemble the convention?

- A. John Henderson, Jr., Doctor A. P. Dostie and R. K. Cutler. They are the only persons who told me positively.
- Q. Did you ever hear the names of the persons who sent that letter?
- A. No, sir. I have understood that Mr. Flanders was the man who received the letter. I have been promised a copy of it, and will probably be able to furnish it in a short time. The letter was quoted to me as an argument for my sustaining the members of the convention, and portions of it were read several times in my presence.

Q. State as near as you can the exact words of the letter

which you read?

A. It requested them to assemble the convention, and states: 'The great distance you are from us prevents us from telling exactly how to proceed. You will act your own judgment; do the best you can, and trust to consequences.' That was about the way it was read to me."

The foregoing is a plain, unequivocal statement from a Northern soldier, an intimate friend of the radicals and carpet-baggers. The statement of Captain Tisdale is an indictment of the Reconstruction Committee, and places upon them the direct responsibility for the tragic consequences of their ad-

vice. Let us see how the members of the Reconstruction Committee and the Congressional Investigators met this unqualified charge of complicity in the riot.

In the Journal of the Investigating Committee appears a letter to the members of the Reconstruction Committee asking if any of them had written the incriminating letter referred to by Captain Tisdale, and all of the members, save Henry J. Blow, in a joint letter to the Investigating Committee, replied with an emphatic denial of its authorship.<sup>33</sup>

Mr. Boyer objected to the receipt of this "round robin" denial, because it was general in its terms and did not cover all the points in question. Thereupon it was moved that all members of the Reconstruction Committee be summoned. This was done, and the members of the Reconstruction Committee amplified the denial by evasive terms; but most of them admitted talking to Howell.

Now Mr. Boyer, who had introduced Captain Tisdale as a witness, and who was confronted with the cumulated and positive denials of the members of the Reconstruction Committee as to the existence or non-existence of the letter then felt the necessity of supporting the word of Captain Tisdale which had been impugned. He thereupon offered the following motion to the majority of the investigating committee at a meeting in Washington on January 28, 1867, which was some six days after the members of the Reconstruction Committee had attacked the veracity of Captain Tisdale at Washington:<sup>34</sup>

"I respectfully submit to the committee the propriety of summoning as a witness, Mr. Benjamin F. Flanders, who, it is suggested, possesses knowledge concerning the letter alleged to have been written by members of the Reconstruction Committee upon the subject of the convention of July 30th.

"I also respectfully request that General Grant, General Canby and General Fullerton may be subpoenaed before the committee; also Henry J. Raymond. I move that subpoenas be immediately issued for the above named witnesses."

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 71. 34 Ibid., p. 78.

"Mr. Shellabarger moved to amend by striking out the names of Flanders and Fullerton. Amendment was adopted, and the motion as amended, was adopted."

It at once becomes very pertinent to ask, why did the majority of the investigating committee *strike out* the names of Messrs. Flanders and Fullerton?

So far as the name of General Fullerton is concerned, some light is thrown by the testimony of Rev. Thomas W. Conway, a New York clergyman who preceded General Fullerton in command of the Freedmen's Bureau in New Orleans, by this excerpt from his testimony: 35

"General Fullerton who was my successor, before I left the City was returning property to its former owners very rapidly. In the two weeks I remained there after I left the Bureau it had nearly all been returned."

According to the Rev. Thomas W. Conway, General Fullerton became the idol of the Southern people. He was acclaimed by them at public dinners. He had issued an order for the arrest of every negro without a certificate of employment—an order which the reverend clergyman had often refused to issue.

But the one man who could have either supported Captain Tisdale's word with the written proof, or who could have convicted him of wilful perjury was not allowed to appear and testify. What was the reason? Were Messrs. Eliot and Shellabarger of the investigating committee satisfied with the assurances of the members of the Reconstruction Committee as to who told the truth? If any single fact serves to convict the members of the Reconstruction Committee of Congress of complicity in the convention riot of July 30, 1866, it was the refusal of the majority of the investigating committee to permit the one man who could have produced the proof to testify, and this refusal on their part is most convincing.

Possibly no more accurate indictment of those responsible for the riotous scenes at the Mechanics' Institute can be found than that expressed by Gideon Welles, who undoubtedly was in a position to know, as a member of President Johnson's cabinet, and who, shortly after the riot, noted this statement in his diary:<sup>36</sup>

Ibid., p. 527.
 Diary of Gideon Welles, Vol. II, pp. 569-570.

"There is little doubt that the New Orleans riots had their origin with the Radical members of Congress in Washington. It is a part of a deliberate conspiracy, and was to be the commencement of a series of bloody affrays through the states lately in rebellion. Boutwell and others have stated sufficient to show their participation in this matter. There is a determination to involve the country in civil war, if necessary, to secure negro suffrage in the states and Radical ascendancy in the government."

From a study of the testimony taken by the investigating committee it was apparent all through the record that Messrs. Eliot and Shellabarger were partisan examiners. They vindictively cross-examined any witness brought by the citizens of New Orleans before them. When such men as Mayor Monroe, Judge Abell, Lieutenant-Governor Voorhies and other local officials testified, they refused to cross-examine them. On the other hand, it was always the task of Mr. Boyer to make a vigorous assault on the testimony of the witnesses produced by the committee. All through the conduct of the examination the proceedings had the appearance of two sets of hostile lawyers conducting bitter and aggressive cross-examinations of the witnesses for the opposing side. As a matter of fact, the majority of the committee of investigators showed scant courtesy to the minority member. A false list of witnesses was imposed on Lieutenant-Governor Voorhies, and Mr. Boyer was forced to protest against the use of any such false witnesses, except those whose names appeared upon the list furnished by the committee of citizens.

The character of the government sought to be established by the conventionists is best described in the language of Rufus King Cutler, who was an ex-Confederate. During the war he had raised a troop of soldiers called the "Cutler Guards," and had driven Mr. B. F. Flanders, a loyal Union man, from Louisiana. After the war Cutler became a leading radical and hostile in every way to the South. The government which he and his fellow-conspirators both in and out of Congress proposed to erect in Louisiana was to be virtually a negro government with the white population held in subjection by the military. Here are Cutler's own words to that effect:

<sup>37</sup> Report on the New Orleans Riots, p. 33.

- Q. Suppose that the political power and influence of what has been the leading and controlling class in Louisiana should alone be taken away, leaving the common people to enjoy the elective franchise along with what you call colored suffrage, would that answer the purpose as the basis of a loyal state government in Louisiana?
- A. I think it would. We have from thirty to thirty-five thousand negro and colored voters in Louisiana, and about twenty-eight to thirty thousand white voters. We could have all the negro and colored men to vote with the Union men, and that, with the disfranchisement of the leading rebels, would give the ascendancy to the Unionists, and I think they could sustain themselves. I think that with a sufficient military force to enforce these provisions, we could establish a government which would be substantial, and we could sustain it after its establishment."

Is it little wonder that, with such revolutionary sentiments being defiantly broadcast, when the radical carpet-baggers launched their most flagrant attempt to undermine constituted authority, the Southerners resisted with desperate fury? There can be no gainsaying the fact that a grave affray occurred. The riotous scenes which occurred on Monday, July 30, 1866, in front of and within the precincts of the Mechanics' Institute, on the site now occupied by Hotel Roosevelt on University Place, were but the inevitable result of a long series of aggravating incidents perpetrated over a long period of time by an irresponsible negro element whose passions were aroused, and whose ambitions had been encouraged by the white radical element mainly represented by men of such type as Dr. A. P. Dostie, John Henderson, Jr., and Rev. Horton, who hoped to rule by the aid of the negro vote and the protection of the federal bayonets.

Then there was another group headed by negro men like the Roudanez brothers from San Domingo, publishers of an intensely radical newspaper called the *New Orleans Tribune*, and who vehemently expounded the principle of complete Africanization of Louisiana.

On the night of July 14, 1866, in Davidson's Row, No. 114 Carondelet street, a meeting was held by some of the radicals at which plans were laid to reconvoke the convention of 1864, under assurances from Washington to legalize the action of the convention which was to disfranchise the white Confederates and enfranchise the negroes. At this secret meeting in Davidson's Row were about six to twelve men who were addressed by Rufus Waples, one of the carpet-bag leaders in New Orleans.

Between the date of this meeting and Friday, July 27, the matter of the reconvening of the convention was the subject of widespread interest and much public and acrimonious discussion, and for a week before the meeting people collected in nervous, excitable groups around the Customhouse, the center of all federal activities, and much bitter feeling became engendered at the radical white element, particularly Dr. Dostie, who seemed to take particular pains to openly and vigorously denounce the Southern white people. As will hereafter be noted, the federal army officers, like Generals Sheridan and Baird, seemed to be perfectly oblivious to all that was going on.

In pursuance of their plan of public agitation among the negro element and their white sympathizers, a great public mass meeting was held at Mechanics' Institute on the night of Friday, July 27, 1866. The newspapers, both before and after the night of the meeting, were full of stories of the inflammatory character of the affair, and they reported copiously the incendiary remarks of such orators as Dr. Dostie, Colonel Field, Rev. Horton, and others. But with all of this public information and agitation the federal generals took no apparent notice and adopted no precautionary measures to avoid trouble.

One of the witnesses who testified at the subsequent Congressional inquiry, and who was a spectator at the meeting of Friday night, was Frederick W. Tilton whose residence was directly across from the Mechanics' Institute, at the northwest corner of Dryades (now called University Place) and Canal streets. Mr. Tilton testified, in part, as follows:<sup>38</sup>

"There was a large platform and a band of music. There was a large crowd of negroes and Dostie, Henderson and Dibble made speeches—tho' I could not call them speeches—they harangued the multitude, trying to excite them. Dostie told the crowd they were going to meet on Monday, to come armed and prepared to fight and vote. This caused the crowd to scream and yell. I heard

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., pp. 380-381.

one man say that every man, woman and child in New Orleans that was a rebel ought to be hung. Then I heard Dostie say that the stones of the streets of New Orleans called for their blood, and cried for their blood. Dostie afterwards called on them to form a procession with torchlights, and they started off hooting and screaming to the City Hall, where Dostie said he would make another speech to them. This was about 10 P. M. Inside the hall itself was another great crowd, but I do not know what was said in there, but there was great cheering and clapping, and the band would play. My impression was that the speakers who were white men were evidently trying to excite these poor negroes for some purpose which I looked upon as insurrection."

Another witness to the incidents of Friday night was James Syme, an English merchant on Canal near Bourbon. He testified, in part, as follows: 89

"I saw the procession of colored people march up Canal street and along St. Charles with torchlights. I noted that their conduct was violent and insulting to the white people standing on the street. They carried a United States flag and were cheering and jeering at the white people they passed on the corners. They seemed to be disbanded colored troops."

An additional eye-witness to the meeting of Friday night, and who convicts the federal army authorities of either deliberate hypocrisy or utter negligence and indifference regarding the time of the meeting of the convention announced for the following Monday, was R. L. Shelley, the correspondent of the New York Times. Mr. Shelley was a frankly open sympathizer with the objects and purposes of the convention, and he testified, in part, as follows:<sup>40</sup>

"I was present at a meeting of the conventionists on Friday night. There was speech making both inside and outside the hall. Inside I listened to Colonel Field, and I came outside and listened to Rev. Horton and Dr. Dostie also spoke, and explained to the crowd that the object of the convention was to enfranchise the colored men and disfranchise the leading rebels. He made remarks

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 291.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pp. 475-476.

that were not complimentary to those that had participated in the rebellion. That it was now time for the negroes to obtain their rights. He also invited them to attend the convention which, he said, would meet on Monday at 12 o'clock.

"On Monday about 11 o'clock, an hour before the convention met, from the preparations I saw going on I felt that there was going to be a disturbance, and I went to General Sheridan's headquarters opposite Mayor Monroe's office and I talked to several of the officers there. The officers to whom I spoke thought I was a little excited. They did not seem to think that there was going to be any trouble."

Mr. M. B. Brady was still another witness to the meeting of Friday night. He testified, in part, as follows:41

"The immediate causes of the riot were the speeches made on Friday preceding the convention. The meeting was held in the street opposite Mechanics Institute, and was composed chiefly of negroes. The speakers advised the negroes to insist upon their rights, and if they did not get them to make the streets of New Orleans run red with the blood of the rebels; that the rebels were hell-bound. A man by the name of Dostie used that language. The multitude became excited and would respond, 'We will.' They advised the negroes to come there on Monday morning; to come armed, and they wanted no cowards. One of the speakers cursed the rebels, and said they were hell-bound."

It appears that after the torchlight procession reached the City Hall, Dr. Dostie made another inflammatory speech from the steps of the hall to the crowd; but his remarks are not quoted, except by inference that what he there said made a very bad impression throughout the city.

After what had transpired on the night of July 27, Mayor Monroe accompanied by Lieutenant-Governor Voorhies, on the next morning—Saturday, July 28—called upon General Absalom Baird to inform him of the design to have the Grand Jury indict the members of the convention and have them arrested by the sheriff. General Baird then stated that any writs of arrest

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 312.

would have to be first submitted to him for approval, and he wired the Secretary of War for instructions as to how to act, thus:

"A convention has been called with the sanction of Governor Wells, to meet here on Monday. The lieutenant governor and city authorities think it unlawful and propose to break it up by arresting the delegates. I have given no orders on the subject, but have warned the parties that I should not counterance or permit such action without instructions to that effect from the President. Please instruct by telegraph."

At the same time Lieutenant-Governor Voorhies and Herron, the attorney-general, wired President Johnson, as follows:43

"Radical mass meeting composed mainly of large number of negroes last night, ending in a riot; the committee of arrangements of said meeting assembling tonight. Violent and incendiary speeches made; negroes called to arm themselves. You bitterly denounced. Speakers Field, Dostie, Hawkins, Henderson, Hiestand, and others. Governor Wells arrived last night, but sides with the convention movement. The whole matter before the grand jury; but impossible to execute civil process without certainty of riot. Contemplated to have the members of the convention arrested under process from the criminal courts of this district. Is the military to interfere to prevent process of court?"

President Johnson then wired Lieutenant-Governor Voorhies, as follows:44

"The military will be expected to sustain and not to obstruct or interfere with the proceedings of the court. A dispatch on the subject of the convention was sent to Governor Wells this morning."

It was a fact of most common knowledge that the convention was to meet at 12 o'clock, on Monday, July 30, 1866. Notwithstanding the great excitement prevailing in the city for some days prior to July 30, General Sheridan left the city on July 21, and only returned on the day after the riot.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 448.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 21. 44 Ibid., p. 459.

The rioting started shortly before noon, but the federal troops, which had to be brought by steamboat from Chalmette, did not reach the scene of the trouble until about 2:40 P. M., by which time the mob had dispersed and the disorder was over. It is a fact admitted by General Baird that he had previously agreed to post some troops nearby at least an hour prior to the meeting of the convention, but this had never been done. It is apparent from a reading of the evidence that had the federal general acted promptly in preparing for what everybody knew was going to happen, the intense fighting would have been prevented and lives saved. But there is a possibility too that they were fearful of taking any steps or doing anything which might run counter to the express orders of President Johnson, as contained in his telegram to Lieutenant-Governor Voorhies.

On the morning of August 1, 1866, there appeared in the columns of the *New Orleans Crescent*, the following telegram from President Johnson to Andrew S. Herron, Attorney General of Louisiana. The telegram is dated July 30, and reads as follows:<sup>45</sup>

"You will call on General Sheridan, or whoever may be in command, for sufficient forces to sustain the civil authorities in suppressing all illegal or unlawful assemblies, who usurp or assume to exercise any power or authority, without first having obtained the consent of the people of the State. If there is to be a convention let it be composed of delegates chosen fresh from the people of the whole State. The people must be first consulted in reference to changing the organic law of the state. Usurpation will not be tolerated. The law and the constitution must be sustained, and thereby peace and order."

To make a case for himself, General Baird who was in charge in the absence of General Sheridan, had to assert that he did not expect the convention to meet until 6 P. M. Although Lieutenant-Governor Voorhies declared he had called on General Baird about 10 A. M., General Baird stated that Voorhies did not inform him of the rioting until about 1:30 P. M., and that a further delay was caused in getting the troops to the city by reason of the fact that the pilot of the steamboat was a Southern sympathizer who purposely took his time in follow-

<sup>45</sup> New Orleans Crescent, August 1, 1866.

ing the curves of the river to bring the boat load of troops to the foot of Canal street. In face of the conflicting evidence, and the labored effort made by General Baird to prove an alibi for his ignorance of what was expected to happen, and what was actually occurring on Monday, it may be safely asserted that the weight and presumptive force of the evidence shows that both General Sheridan and General Baird were either woefully ignorant of the conditions, or were guilty of culpable negligence.

Now as to the actual facts of the rioting.

Again we refer to the evidence of Mr. F. W. Tilton, who had, so to speak, a reserved seat as a spectator, for he witnessed the fatal affray of Monday from the gallery of his home on the opposite side of the street from the Mechanics' Institute. This is his statement:<sup>46</sup>

"At the corner of Dryades and Canal streets, and immediately adjoining the Institute was an empty lot, on which was a large pile of loose bricks. About 9 o'clock Monday morning a large gathering of strange negroes appeared armed with sticks and clubs. By 10:30 A. M., the crowd of negroes had increased to two or three hundred. Some old negro began addressing them, and finally a mulatto man came out of the building and waved his hand, and some of them started off towards Burgundy street. Soon a band of music came up Burgundy street, at the head of a procession of negroes carrying a United States flag.

"I saw a negro man knock a man into the gutter. The band rushed across the street to Dryades street, and beat the long roll. Presently the negroes began to throw bricks. Finally someone fired several shots, and the negroes were driven into the Institute. There was a great commotion inside the building. The police began to assemble, and it soon became a general row. The police fired on the negroes, and they in turn fired on the police. The police first went into the building and were fired on, and then rushed out, and blew for assistance, and then there was a great ruth out of the building by the negroes."

It seems that when the convention met at noon only twentyfive members were present, although the place was filled with negro spectators. It was stated by the conventionists, who tes-

<sup>48</sup> Report on the New Orleans Riots, pp. 381-382.

tified at the subsequent inquiry, that they had planned to immediately adjourn and send out for the missing members in order to form a quorum, and that, in all events, nothing of a more positive nature was to be done that day than to ascertain what Parishes of the State had no representation in the convention, and then adjourn to await the results of the election called by Governor Wells for September to fill the vacancies. Yet, according to George S. Boutwell, it was planned to keep Congress in session until the men in Louisiana had reformed the Constition in a manner suitable to Congress.

It was charged by many witnesses sympathetic with the aims of the radicals, many of whom were eye-witnesses, that the attack on the hall was the result of a concerted action of the citizens with the aid of the members of the police and fire departments. The police on that day wore straw hats, and it was charged that they had reversed the bands on their hats to conceal their identifying numbers, and that other members of the mob, who were citizens, had tied handkerchiefs around their necks to identify them. It was also charged that the signal for the rioting was the sounding of an unusual fire alarm, and that after the rioting started a fire engine was brought up to the Institute loaded with weapons.

It is very evident from all the testimony, that everybody in the city except the federal army officers expected trouble, because a number of witnesses testified that the stores closed on Canal street and that there was raiding of stores carrying arms and ammunition in stock.

After the rioting started in the hall it became general. Soon the windows of the building vomited frightened black men jumping for safety, running down the alley alongside the building and hopping over the fences. A number of witnesses sympathetic with the conventionists described harrowing incidents both within and without the Institute. It was further charged that everywhere all over the city negroes were attacked on sight and were beaten, shot or stabbed.

On the other hand, there were numerous witnesses who testified favorably as to the actions of the police on that day, some of whom had formerly belonged to the Union Army. Martial law was declared by General Baird by 5 P. M., and Mayor Monroe refusing to act under martial law quit his office. No one was subsequently arrested or indicted for participating in the riot.

When the rioting was over it was officially ascertained by the federal army authorities that four white men had been killed, and it is of some significance that three of these men were among the most radical of the carpet-baggers, viz.: Dr. A. P. Dostie, Mr. John Henderson and Rev. Horton. Only one white Southern sympathizer was killed, a Mr. E. H. Cenas.

The statistics of the killed and wounded tell the story of a debacle, that cannot be denied. As stated, four white men were killed. Some thirty-four negroes also met death. Forty-eight others were severely wounded and ninety-eight received slight wounds. Some fifty-four suffered from gun-shot wounds, thirty-three received knife wounds, and forty-nine suffered contusions. On the list were ten policemen wounded, and it is a fact admitted by the conventionists that they fired on the police.

In the light of all the evidence, it is undeniable that if the negroes did not come to the convention armed with revolvers they did come armed in some other way and were prepared for and were expecting trouble; and, above all, determined to "get their rights," and whole-heartedly to support and protect the little band of twenty-five malcontents headed by the notorious Dr. Dostie, who, with his associates were determined with the aid and sympathy of the Reconstruction Committee, by amending the constitution, to disfranchise the white men and enfranchise the negroes in order that this little band of white carpetbaggers and scalawags could regain the power of government; for it is a fact, testified to by the radicals themselves that, with the exception of the federal posts, all of the power of the State government, executive, legislative and judicial, had been gradually assumed by the returned Confederate soldiers. This, then, was the motivating reason for the calamitous and bloody affray of July 30, 1866.

But to understand more clearly the desperate resolve of the Southern men that their birthright should not be taken from them, and the fierce determination with which they acted on that Monday in a final effort to save themselves, their homes and their families, we must give a brief sketch of Dr. A. P. Dostie, the man whose unrelenting hate of the defeated Confederates knew no bounds, and whose zealous soul burned with such fury against his own race.

Dr. Anthony Paul Dostie was born June 20, 1821, in New York. He moved to New Orleans in 1852. He was by profession a dentist. In August, 1861, because of his northern sentiments he was forced to leave New Orleans for Chicago, but he returned after the capture of New Orleans by Butler in 1862. At once he began his crusade for the cause of the Union, and the enfranchisement of the negro slaves. He was appointed to the school board, and it was his great aim to "make treason odious."

On one occasion he caused a riot in the Varieties Theatre in New Orleans by insisting upon the band playing the national anthem and displaying the United States flag. He called himself a "Jacksonian Democrat," and an unrelenting foe of slavery. He was at one time a candidate for State Auditor, and at another time a candidate for Congress.

We cannot give a better description of the man and his attitude towards his fellow white Southern neighbors, and which at the same time typifies the viewpoint of his fanatical following, than by quoting the following statement emanating from Dr. Dostie, and repeated under oath by Captain Tisdale, to whom the remarks were addressed by Dostie. Captain Tisdale himself had been a veteran fighter for the Union, but had later come to know, respect and like the defeated followers of Lee. These are the remarks of Dostie, as made to Captain Tisdale:47

"Dr. Dostie often met me on St. Charles street, and would say to me, 'Colonel, we are going to rule here; we are going to have a convention, and we will disfranchise every rebel and give the negroes the right of suffrage, and appoint our own judges to hold office during life.'

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 259.

These remarks he would make in the presence of people passing, evidently intending that they should hear them. I have always considered the doctor half crazy and never paid much attention to him. He was rather angry because I would not join with him in his views. Having entered the army at first, and being almost the last one to leave it, I felt that we must abide by the decision of General Grant."



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# THE WHITE LEAGUE IN LOUISIANA AND ITS PARTICI-PATION IN RECONSTRUCTION RIOTS\*

By H. OSCAR LESTAGE, JR.

#### PREFACE

Probably Reconstruction in Louisiana offers more phases of interest than any other short period of the State's history. Occasionally this epoch creates an air of profound curiosity around the fireside or in the company of the few remaining contemporaries of that apathetic yet agitated time. Especially do the race conflicts, of which this State had a goodly number, from St. Bernard to Bossier Parishes, become fascinating when related by a participant or victim of the riots.

Though almost all revelations of those fiery moments are confined to the hours of trouble and action, intensely interesting and often murderous, this study is concentrated mainly upon the attendant causes and results of the Coushatta riot, which after all make the actual massacre more understandable. It has been the writer's purpose to contact some of the few remaining persons who can give first hand accounts of Radical and Conservative conflict, and to preserve some of their interesting stories with other related facts.

My thanks are extended to Dr. W. H. Stephenson for his help and advice; to Steve Cagle, J. Fair Hardin, J. G. Lawler, Greene Manghram, and Mrs. Lamar Thomas for books, manuscripts, and letters; to Jack Allison, Mrs. W. A. Boylston, A. F. Manghram, J. A. McMillen, O. P. Ogilvie, Jr., W. Darrell Overdyke, Mrs. Theodore Saylor and many more for other favors.

H. O. L.

<sup>\*</sup> A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, at the Louisiona State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, Baton Rouge, June, 1930.

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## CHAPTER I

# EARLY RIOTS AND RADICAL CONTROL

Race riots in Louisiana between 1866 and 1874 were of more significance in the reconstruction of the State than is generally realized. While these occurrences are rarely omitted from the pages of reconstruction history, they are mentioned only incidentally as having almost unexplainable causes and but slight results. The riots fall into two distinct series; the first occurred during the years, 1866 to 1868; the second, 1873 to 1874.

A close view of the several collisions proves that they were directly responsible for many of the conditions in Louisiana after the Civil War. Some were much more important than others; especially did the New Orleans riot of 1866 and the Coushatta massacre of 1874 have outstanding political results. Others, especially that at Colfax in 1873, attracted as much or more popular attention throughout the nation. The New Orleans riot put the State into the hands of Radicals; and the Coushatta massacre opened the way for the whites to regain power.

At the end of the war Congress created the Freedmen's Bureau as a buffer between the two races<sup>2</sup> and a guardian for the freedmen. That organization was effected none too soon, for in Louisiana the negroes already had conceived the idea that, "freedom . . . [was] two-fold; first freedom from work; second, freedom to come and go where he will."3

Looking forward to what might happen in the State, Governor H. W. Allen, in his farewell address at Shreveport on June 2, 1865, gave the following advice to his fellow Louisianans:

> Until order shall be established and society with all its safeguards fully restored, I would advise that you form yourselves into companies and squads for the purpose of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The number of outstanding race riots, 1866-1874, varies from five to several more. John Rose Ficklen, History of Reconstruction in Louisiana (Through 1888), (Baltimore, 1910), passim; and Ella Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana (After 1868), (New York and London, 1918), passim, mention five. H. J. Campbell, The White League Conspiracy Against Free Government, 11 pp., (New Orleans, 1875), pp. 2, 3, lists nine.

<sup>2</sup> P. S. Peirce, The Freedmen's Bureau, (Iowa City, 1904), p. 44; P. L. Haworth, Reconstruction and Union 1865-1912, (London, 1912), p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Alexandria, Louisiana Democrat, June 28, 1865.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., November 1, 1865.

protecting your families from outrage and insult, and your property from spoilation-a few bad men can do much mischief and destroy much property. Within a short while the United States authorities will no doubt send you an armed force to any part of the State where you may require it for your protection.

Governor Allen, though only at the brink of the long period of reconstruction, could easily foresee the need for home organization if the Northern victors were inclined to make capital out of the negro's freedom; yet, he in no way implied the organization of the Ku Klux or like clans.

Meanwhile, the North Louisiana Executive retired with no successor, and Governor J. Madison Wells in New Orleans gradually changed his attitude toward State reorganization and legislation.5 Until 1866 he had hoped to see Louisiana readmitted under the plan of Lincoln and Johnson. When that failed, he joined the Radical element, and favored a new constitution with negro suffrage. Lack of harmony between the Legislature and Wells furthered this agitation. He vetoed several bills in the early part of 1866,6 and re-assembled the conventionists of 1864 on July 30 to form a new constitution. The citizens of New Orleans, realizing that their Governor had deserted their cause and had begun to consider the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, were aroused as the day approached. Further, the passage of the Civil Rights Bill alarmed the whites of Louisiana, who feared that racial discrimination would be abolished in the South as it had been in the galleries of Congress.

The day of the meeting arrived and, there being no quorum present, the delegates adjourned for several hours. The feeling ran high, though no riot was anticipated, for the conventionists had arranged protection.8 However, an accidental collision led to a more heated fight which ended only with the arrival of troops. As a result of the affray one delegate, one "disloyal" and two "loyal" white citizens, and thirty-four negroes were killed. Eight delegates, nine "loyal" white citizens, one hundred nineteen negroes, and ten policemen were wounded.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ficklen, op. cit., p. 146.

Fickien, op. cic., p. 140.

6 Ibid., p. 147.

7 Louisiana Democrat, April 25, 1866.

8 Fickien, op. cic., p. 167.

9 Ibid., p. 169; Reports of the Select Committee on the New Orleans Riots, (Washington, 1867), p. 37.

The minority report of the Select Committee on the New Orleans Riots emphasized the fact that,

The riot of the 30th of July was a local disturbance originating in local circumstances of great provocation, and in nowise the result of any hostility or disaffection on the part of the community of New Orleans toward the general government. It was not in any just or fair sense of the term a vestige or outcrop of the rebellion, nor can it be said to be any indication even in the remotest degree of a disposition on the part of the people of the city of New Orleans or of the State of Louisiana to renew hostilities in any form with the established authorities either State or federal.10

Nevertheless, the affair worked right into the hands of Northern Radical Republicans. 11 Congress and President Johnson differed on various reconstruction issues, but thus far the Executive policy had prevailed. The timely occurrence of the New Orleans riot provided Radical campaign speakers with propaganda for the canvass of 1866.12 As a result of issues thus created, the Radicals carried State elections and won an overwhelming majority of seats in the Fortieth Congress. The Senate was divided 42 to 11, and the House 143 to 49, a two-thirds Radical majority in both branches.13

The real effect of the New Orleans riot was not realized in Louisiana until the majority report of the Select Committee was made to Congress. Notwithstanding the favorable report of the minority the former said "that history shows no riot so destitute of cause, resulting in a massacre so inhuman and fiendlike,14 and reported a bill15 which the newly enthused Congress was soon prepared to accept with some changes. The measure proposed that Louisiana be reconstructed "by the appointment of a Governor and Council of nine by the President. On the first Tuesday of June, all male citizens of the United States, black or white, who have resided one year within the State, and never bore arms against the Union, or who have never served except in the ranks and received the right to vote from a Federal court, will meet at the polls and elect State officers. On

<sup>10</sup> Reports of the Select Committee on the New Orleans Riots, p. 37; Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Tri-Weekly Advocate, February 11, 1867; Louisiana Democrat, February 27, 1867.

11 James Ford Rhodes, History of the United States, (New York, 1907), Vol. 5, p. 625.

12 Intimated by S. S. Cox, Union-Disunion-Reunion, (Providence, 1888), p. 430.

13 Rhodes, op. cit. p. 626.

14 Tri-Weekly Advocate, February 13, 1867; Reports of the Select Committee on the New Orleans Riots, p. 1.

15 Tri-Weekly Advocate, February 13, 1867

the third Tuesday in October the electors shall vote for members of a convention to form a Constitution . . . A Brigadier General and a military force is to be allotted to the State to aid in enforcing the law."

The bill generated such sentiment in Louisiana as that expressed by the Baton Rouge *Tri-Weekly Advocate*. "Elliott's Bill (provides) for the dissolution of the State government of Louisiana and the ultimate erection of a freed negro State in its stead." It was a measure the substance of which was much the same as Sherman's bill passed by Congress over Johnson's veto March 2, 1867." Elliott's plan was defeated because it did not provide for all the unreconstructed States and because too much power would have been given the President. As a result, Sherman's bill, with its supplements subsequently passed, so the origin of the black period of reconstruction in Louisiana.

The complete set of military reconstruction measures, between March 2 and July 19, provided for the division of the ten unreconstructed Southern States into five districts, each under a general who would be chief executive until the States chose governments satisfactory to Congress. In Louisiana military authorities were to see to the registration of voters, both black and white, and to hold an election in September, 1867, to choose delegates to a constitutional convention, which would draw up a constitution to be ratified or rejected by popular vote. The existing State Legislature was dissolved.

What Governor Allen advised two years previously was somewhat restated by the Legislature to Louisianans as a farewell address:19

In this emergency it becomes absolutely necessary for the people to determine forthwith what line of conduct is most proper for them to pursue. . . . We, therefore, exhort the people to organize thoroughly and take an active part in all elections, under whatever authority they may be held. . . . Use all fair and legitimate means within your

February 15, 1867.
 Tribune Almanac, (New York, 1868), p. 28; Tri-Weekly Advocate, March 4, 1867;
 Semi-Weekly Natchitoches, (Louisiana), Times, March 20, 1867.
 Tribune Almanac, 1868, pp. 30, 31, 32; Louisiana Democrat, March 20, 1867.
 Tri-Weekly Advocate, March 27, 1867.

power so to influence and direct the suffrage as to elect trustworthy men to office, and thereby to prevent the power of the State from falling into unworthy hands.

Louisianans had not yet thoroughly awakened to the import of negro suffrage. This is clearly seen from the attitude of the Tri-Weekly Advocate.20 "The new element will vote with the old to a greater or less extent, but at any rate we do not fear that the Radicals will be sadly disappointed at the result of the election of members of the convention." Too, Nordhoff<sup>21</sup> also anticipates the negro's indifferent attitude toward his future status. He "declares that 'without whites to organize the colored vote—which means to mass it, to gather the voters at barbecues, to carry them up with a hurra to the polls, to make "bolting" terrible, to appeal to the fears of the ignorant and the cupidity of the shrewd; without all this the negro will not vote.' It is a well-known fact that the 'organizers' were Federal officers with little else to do."

Preceding the election of September 27-28 for delegates to draft a constitution, there were attempts to promote good feelings between whites and negroes in good-will mass meetings,22 but itinerant Radical orators toured the State and provided for an organization of a Black Republican party by their incendiary speeches.23 The whites did not take an active part in the election, it being the first in which negroes legally voted in the State, and the result was that 96 Republican and 2 Democratic delegates were chosen.24 De Bow's Review at once recognized the significance of the negro vote in Louisiana and made an appeal to them.25

> Much depends upon their own (negroes') conduct and the counsels by which they are guided. They are in a peculiarly trying condition in their movements. experiment is about to be made whether two races such as the whites and blacks . . . can live together upon terms of political equality without producing antagonism and serious collisions between them . . . The attempt to organize a black man's party in the South all consider the

<sup>20</sup> March 22, 1867.
21 Quoted in Lonn, op. cit., p. 14.
22 Tri-Weekly Advocate, May 22, 1867; Opelousas, Louisiana, Courier, June 6, 1874, reviewing conditions.
23 Louisiana Democrat, May 29, 1867.
24 Ficklen, op. cit., p. 193.
25 De Bow's Review, (New York, 1867), pp. 419-421.

worst policy that could be pursued for them as a race. . . In the first place I say beware of becoming politicians. Mingling in politics, and spending so much of your time in attending public meetings can do you no good, and may do you much injury.

Comparing the resulting constitution with that of 1864, there were several important changes.26 The two outstanding in immediate effect were Articles 135 and 156. The first of these provided for civil equality of both races in the State; the second authorized the military to appoint commissioners and registrars to supervise the constitutional referendum. State officers were voted for upon the same day, and the Radicals cleverly insured ratification by permitting only Radical and Conservative Republican tickets. Many native whites refrained from voting<sup>27</sup> despite the fact that such newspapers as the Alexandria Louisiana Democrat pleaded for the defeat of the "Nigger Constitution."28 Following the Radical victory the State was readmitted to the Union, and military law became inoperative.

Thus, as one of the results of unforseen and unplanned action on the part of the New Orleans whites in the July riot of 1866, Louisiana passed from the hands of its experienced, well-meaning white politicians into those of designing Radicals, carpet-baggers, and a mass of inexperienced negroes. By this time the blacks were well under the influence of the Northern adventurers. This result in turn directly led to other riots, similar but less effective in general influence.

The negro Legislature passed several bills which, through the work of Governor H. C. Warmoth, infuriated the white citizens of the State from the beginning. One act was interpreted by the executive as giving him the right to appoint all Parish and many State officials.20 By the use of this measure the Radicals got a grasp on the State from Governor to constables. The attempt to carry out social equality, as provided in the constitution, was one of the most harassing policies of the new Leg-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Henry E. Chambers, A History of Louisiana, (Chicago and New York, 1925), 3 vols., vol. I, p. 664; House Misc. Doc., 4! Cong., 1 sess., No. 13, pt. I, pp. 1-65, passim.

<sup>27</sup> Fleklen, op. cit., p. 201.

<sup>28</sup> April 8, 15, and o'her subsequent issues, 1868. The papers contained many space-fillers of such tenor as "Vote Against The Constitution!" and "Vote Against The Nigger Constitution," in various sized type and attractive designs of print. 29 Lonn, op. cit., p. 45.

islature. Northern and Southern Republican papers30 urged the "loyal" whites and negroes to use extreme measures in controlling the State. During the spring campaign and election of 1868 Louisianans remained quiet and inactive, noping to regain control when Congress recognized the State; but the carpetbaggers had no intention of surrendering when military authority was removed. They immediately proceeded to organize further and influence the ignorant negroes, their source of power. Ralizing how difficult it was to overthrow negro and Radical control the whites began to organize themselves and the few blacks whom they were able to control into clubs.31 By this method the Conservatives hoped to carry the fall election and to relieve ultimately the Radical pressure on the State by Congressional assistance.

The whites accused the carpet-baggers of using the Loyal Leagues and incendiary methods to provoke a riot,32 so that such action could "be heralded as 'rebel' outrages and . . . used to manufacture enthusiasm for Grant." Avary33 clearly describes the situation: "Riots in the South were breath of life to carpet bag government." A riot of the severity of the New Orleans affair in 1866 would not only stimulate Northern sentiment against the former Confederates, but it would enable the State to disregard Democratic returns on grounds of intimidation, and declare the republican ticket elected. Such a disturbance would assist Louisiana Radicals in retaining the favor of the National Government. Two years later the Louisiana Democrat reviewed the events of 1868:34

It is a well known fact that the carpet baggers and scalawags entered actively into the contests of 1868, and continued their efforts until convinced that they stood no possible chance of carrying the State. . . It was then that the adventurers and renegades set to work to prevent a full and fair vote of the State. This they sought to accomplish by provoking collisions between the two races, hoping by this means to make it appear that it would be dangerous for colored voters to attempt to vote the ticket of their choice.

<sup>30</sup> Louisiana Democrat. November 25, 1868, quoting Anti-Slavery Standard.
31 Louisiana Democrat, August 26, 1868.
32 Ibid., September 30, 1868.
33 Myrta Lockett Avary, Dixie After the War, (New York, 1906), p. 332.
34 June 1, 1870; Also expressed in an "Address to the People of Louisiana," House Misc. Doc., 41 Cong., 2 sess., No. 13, pt. II, pp. 1-45.

However, in the Presidential election of 1868, the Democrats presented two fronts. The party convention which assembled in New Orleans in September, 35 and the various independent Democratic clubs throughout the State,36 passed resolutions guaranteeing the negro his Constitutional rights and imploring him to vote with the native whites. But Democratic extremists and Knights of the White Camelia probably expressed the prevailing spirit in the statement, "A white man's government or no government."37

The riots desired by the Radicals did occur, and a statement of their immediate causes, taken individually, will make the responsibility clearer. The first was at Opelousas. A planter discovered that his negro laborers were away at a secret Radical meeting,38 where they were found plotting a riot. Within a day or two-on September 28-following the publication of a highly critical and insulting article in a local Republican paper, a group of whites destroyed the press.39 The negroes, who organized to assist the editor, clashed with the whites. More than two hundred blacks were killed before they dispersed.

In Bossier Parish there were two outbreaks, one in September and one in October, in which more than one hundred and fifty negroes were killed.40 The riot was incited by a man from Arkansas, and the majority of the whites who participated were from that State. But a previous uprising of negroes would seem to prove that Freedmen's Bureau officials at Shreveport assisted the negro leader in stirring up the trouble.41

Two other clashes occurred during the latter part of October in New Orleans and St. Bernard Parish, where many negroes were killed.42 In New Orleans it was unexpected and unplanned, but in St. Bernard the riot resulted from incendiary speeches of the Radicals which encouraged the negroes to rise. Democratic clubs of New Orleans went down to assist the whites of their neighboring Parish; then the collision resulted, following the advance made by armed negroes.

House Misc. Doc., Contested Elections in Ls., 41 Cong., 2 sess., p. 480.
 Ibid., 41 Cong., 1 sess., No. 18, pt. I, pp. 1-62, passim.

<sup>38</sup> Letter from the planter's son to the writer.

39 Louisiana Historical Quarterly, (New Orleans, 1925), Vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 288;

Courier, October 3, 1868.

40 House Misc. Doc., 41 Cong., 1 sess., No. 32, pp. 1-24.

41 Bossier Banner, September 5, 1868.

42 Louisiana Democrat, November 2, 1868.

There is little doubt concerning the remote causes of the riots of 1868, and some Northern papers readily admitted that carpet-baggers lay behind the whole affair.43 Yet, they produced the desired effects for the Radicals. A comparison of the November election with that for State officials in April of the same year shows that these clashes influenced the native vote in several Parishes.

Parish	Republican		Democrat	
	April	Nov.	April	Nov.
St. Landry	2,514	**********	649	4,683
Lafayette	743	**********	121	1,420
Vermillion	133	**********	39	95744

In St. Bernard Parish in November there were 473 Democratic votes and one for the Republicans; in Bossier Parish, 1,635 Democratic and one Republican. For the State at large in April the Republicans polled 64,901 and the Democrats 38,046; in November the Democrats received 80,225 and the Republicans 33,-225.48 Various reasons might be given for the unusually small Republican or negro vote. In addition to intimidation and persuasive influence of Democratic organizations, Radical leaders and papers demanded that the negroes absent themselves from the polls.46 Several papers accused the Radicals of using this means to make their own vote small. Then, should the Democrats win, a better pretext upon which to base intimidation would be afforded.

Though the Republicans failed to carry the State in the Presidential election, the riots served their purpose. Black pictures of Louisiana, the nation was told, expressed rebel sentiment.47 These clashes served the Democrats only temporarily, for Seymour's loss enabled Grant and Warmoth to keep the State subjected by the passage of the Ku Klux Acts. 48

As a result the Louisianans were the victims of the first series of race riots, and the State was completely in control of

<sup>43</sup> Bossier Banner, November 7, 1868, quoting Northern papers.
44 No Republican vote tabulated in these Parishes in November, House Misc. Doc., \$1 and, 1 sess., No. 12, p. 23. Also the small Democratic vote in April was due mainly to ere being no Democratic candidate for Governor; Campbell, ibid., pp. 3, 4.
45 Ficklen, op. cit., pp. 280, 231.
48 House Misc. Doc., 41 Cong., 2 sess., No. 13, pp. 1-62, passim, quoting Republican.
47 Ficklen, op. cit., p. 230.
48 Campbell, op. cit., p. 9.

Radicals in every department of the government. The native whites now settled down to bide their time. They realized the futility of further action so long as a hostile Congress and President prevailed. There was no further outstanding collision for several years. The Congressional election of 1870 and State and Presidential elections of 1872 passed with no favorable changes from conditions of 1868. In 1872 there were compromise efforts by both parties through the formation of fusion tickets. Notwithstanding Democratic success in carrying some offices in 1872, a United States judge intervened to save the Republicans, and another Radical Governor was installed. Congress and the President ignored appeals of both parties and thus by inactivity sustained his decision.

The results of this election and the fruits of the administration of Kellogg ushered in by it, as we shall now see, led to another riot which, instead of further subjecting Louisiana to carpet-bag control, proved to be the first step toward return of white domination.

### CHAPTER II

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE WHITE LEAGUE

On various occasions between 1867 and 1876 secret organizations of Radicals and Conservatives had much to do with the government of Louisiana and consequently with the reconstruction of the State. While these societies were similar in aims, methods, and habits they did not have a continuous existence either locally or throughout Louisiana. Clubs originated as conditions required; and as necessities were local in many instances, so were the organizations. Moreover, the formation of a federated organization did not materially affect local aims and actions of the component units.

The Ku Klux Klan probably never existed in Louisiana; yet various leagues such as the Knights of the White Camelia, Seymour and Blair Societies, Innocents, and other Democratic

<sup>49</sup> Lonn, op. cit., p. 193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ficklen, op. cit., pp. 222-223; Richard Taylor. Destruction and Reconstruction (Personal Experiences of the Late War), (New York, 1879), p. 250; Mary E. Bryan, Wild Works, the story of the Red River tragedy, (New York, 1881), p. v. of preface.

clubs<sup>2</sup> were prominent over the entire State. All had "white supremacy" as an ultimate aim. Despite efforts to check radical clubs,3 many outrageous deeds were committed in some localities. At first only negroes were intimidated, but in a short time even white immigrants from other states were robbed and plundered. It was not long, however, before legitimate organizations put to rout almost all of the clandestine groups. As a rule, the Seymour and Blair Societies, Knights of the White Camelia, and others of prominence were solely political clubs, and used fewer intimidating methods."

After native Louisianans were defeated in their united attempt to regain hold of their State in 1868, newspapers made little mention of the work of these clubs. Even in the election of 1870 the whites made few efforts to organize, the Knights of the White Camelia and others having become practically extinct. Nevertheless, Congress pointed to Southern secret societies and their "outrageous" work as sufficient reason for the Ku Klux Acts which formally ended something already dead in Louisiana.

Hoping to change their methods so as to conform with the law, and thinking the opportune moment had arrived, Louisiana whites made attempts to reconcile the negroes to their cause in the campaign of 1872.6 But they were not destined to succeed. With reference to their failure Chambers wrote:7 "In Louisiana, McEnery and Penn (Conservative candidates) undoubtedly received a majority of the votes; but their opponents, Kellogg and C. C. Antoine—the latter a negro—had in Grant's election ... 'an ace in the hole.'" Almost immediately United States Judge Durell proclaimed the Radical ticket elected and ordered Federal troops to prevent the Democrats from convening with the Kellogg Legislature, which could not act without military aid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> W. L. Fleming, Documentary History of Reconstruction, 2 vols., (Cleveland, 1907), Vol. II, pp. 4-5, 344-346, 365; Louisiana Democrat, August to September, 1868; Courier, August to September, 1868.

<sup>3</sup> John I. McCain, (Montgomery, Louisiana), MS. and personal interview.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. I, p. 27; Fleming, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 102-128; Louisiana Democrat, April 26, 1871.

<sup>6</sup> Campbell, op. cit., p. 9. A study of several White League resolutions also shows that there were attempts to have blacks and white cooperate in 1872, Courier, May 2, 1874.

<sup>7</sup> Chambers, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 670-671.

<sup>8</sup> Taylor, op. cit., p. 259; Susan Lawrence Davis, Authentic History Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1877, (New York, 1924), p. 302.

Again the Democrats of the State were thwarted in their efforts. Further, the usurping Warmoth and Kellogg Legislatures increased the bitterness and hatred of the Radicals. The people's attitude toward their government is stated by J. F. Hoar in the Report on Conditions in the South:

> The conviction has been general among the whites since 1872 that the Kellogg government was a usurpation. This conviction among them has been strengthened by the acts of the Kellogg legislature abolishing existing courts and judges, and substituting others presided over by judges appointed by Kellogg, having extraordinary and exclusive jurisdiction over political questions; by changes in the law centralizing in the Governor every form of political control, including the suspensions of elections; by continuing the returning board with absolute power over the returns of elections . . . by the conversion of police force, maintained at the expense of the city of New Orleans, into an armed brigade of State Militia, subject to the commands of the Governor; by the creation of monopolies in markets, gas-making, water works, and ferries, cleaning vaults, removing filth, and doing work as wharfingers; by the abolition of courts with elective judges, and the substitution of other courts with judges appointed by Kellogg, in evasion of the constitution of the State; by the enactments punishing criminally all persons who attempted to fill official positions unless returned by the returning-board.

Of the acts of the Radical Legislature perhaps that by which the absolute and powerful Returning Board was created proved to be the greatest obstacle which the Democrats eventually faced. November 20, 1872, it was formed of "five persons, to be elected by the Senate from all political parties, . . . (who) shall be the Returning Officers of all elections in the State, a majority of whom shall constitute a quorum and have power to make the returns of all elections. In the case of any vacancy by death, resignation, or otherwise, by either of the boards, then the vacancy shall be filled by the residue of the Board of Returning Officers."

9 House Reports, 43 Cong., 2 sess., No. 101, p. 6, quoted in Fleming, op. cit., Vol. II,

pp. 55-56.

10 Report of the Returning Board of the State of Louisiana to the General Assembly, Session 1875, 21 pp., (New Orleans, 1875), p. 3. The first Board elected by the Senate was composed of J. Madison Wells, John Lynch, James Longstreet, Gadane Cassnave—a negro—and Louis M. Kenner. Only one, T. C. Anderson, who was elected by the Board to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of John Lynch, was a Conservative or representative of the Louisiana whites.

Another act which eventually did much to arouse the whites to oppose Radical rule by force was the Kellogg Registration Law of July 24, 1874.<sup>11</sup> Especially did it aim to prevent a full registration and vote of the Conservatives. Some of the objectionable terms were: that all foreign born citizens were required to have certificates of naturalization, and two witnesses to prove their identity upon registering. Also the supervisors,

after propounding as many questions as they may think proper to the said naturalized citizens, shall have the right of refusing to register their names as voters, all affidavits made by them or their witnesses to the contrary notwithstanding.

Section 31 enacts that the decision of any supervisor of registration, . . . shall be final. No parish or district judge shall interfere by writs of injunction or mandamus, or other order of court, to compell any supervisor or assistant supervisor of registration to register, or prohibit him from registering any person.

However, one of the worst and most objectionable of the clauses was that "Two months previous to the general election, the Governor shall also appoint in each parish of the State one supervisor of registration and one assistant supervisor."

Other provisions were directed mainly at the Conservatives. Section 32 "vests any of . . . (the supervisors) with the power to direct the arrest of any person for disorderly conduct before him in his office." But "the crowning of the edifice" is section 39, which makes it

'the duty of the supervisors of registration in every parish of this State to appoint one or more suitable persons to attend at each poll or voting place, who shall have the power of constables during the time of election'; anyone resisting or opposing such persons in the 'discharge of their duty,' id est, the making arrests, counting the votes, 'keeping order at the polls,' carrying the boxes to and from the commissioners of election, etc., shall be punished by fine and imprisonment.

The New Orleans Bulletin<sup>12</sup> was aroused to fury by the Act:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> New Orleans, Louisiana, Bulletin, July 28, 1874; New Orleans, Louisiana, Republican, August 6, 1874.
<sup>12</sup> July 28, 1874.

That our people will submit to this crowning infamy we cannot for a moment allow ourselves to believe, and we trust Kellogg's latest bantling will remain upon the statute books simply as a monument of the combined stupidity and rascality of the would-be Machiavels who concocted it, and of the consummate villain who signed it.

In October the Caucasian13 quoted a letter from the Bulletin which proved that the whites were justified in their alarm at the passage of the Registration Bill. It was a "confidential circular . . . captured in the State House."

> State of Louisiana, Office State Registrar of Voters N. O., Aug. 31st, 1874.

(Strictly Confidential)

To Supervisors of Registration:

You are instructed to use your utmost endeavors to cause a full registration of all Republican voters in your parish, and to especially encourage and assist the registration of white Republican electors. For this purpose you will keep your office open at the Court House for as short a period as necessary, and then remove to the localities most thickly populated by the colored votes, and give notice in advance (of course with the greatest caution) as will facilitate their presence at the time of opening the books. . . .

> Thomas Lynne, State Registrar of Voters.

The greatest cause of opposition to the Kellogg forces, one which led to white organization in 1874, was financial maladministration and unnecessary, unjust taxation. Much fraud originated in the parochial systems, which were protected by the State government. Act 97 of 187114 by Warmoth's Legislature abolished elective police juries and made them appointive by the executive. Kellogg made much use of this power in giving the Parishes undesirable juries. Natchitoches Parish illustrates his unchecked authority.15 "It was an ignorant police-jury." composed of Radicals and negroes. This same jury was allowed to decide a case<sup>16</sup> involving \$180,000, a procedure which a United

Alexandria, Louisiana. Cancasian, October 3, 1874.
 Louisiana Democrat, May 17, 1871.

<sup>18</sup> Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 552. 16 Ibid., p. 197.

States general said he found to be opposed by many of both political factions; and he "found the same thing elsewhere, that there was a feeling that the colored man had been placed in a position more important than his education or his virtues or his intelligence entitled him to."

There was a Republican press established in every parish and endowed by the Printing Bill of 1868.17 They enriched themselves by printing laws and documents which "Thousands of printers would be glad to do . . . at less than half that price." For example in 1874 Kellogg's Legislature agreed to pay (the) East Feliciana Tribune and (the) Dunn Leader for printing laws, \$2,000 each. . . To pay Blackburns Homer Illiad for publishing the House Journal of 1871, \$4,590."

School boards under the Kellogg regime were fraudulent machines. The situation in Rapides Parish is only one example.19 The board was composed entirely of white and black Radicals of most determined political prejudices. Only two of nine had property, and five held other offices. In "a word not a single Conservative or white element" was represented on it. With the lavish use of school money they built "a large, elegant and costly school house entirely and expressly for negro children," while the white children received "a beggarly pittance in the shape of a few stray dollars and (were) housed in a cabin, (in) which po planter before the war would have ventured to store away his slaves."

The tax collectors and assessors, too, in many of the parishes were open to much criticism. To illustrate their maladministration in 1873 the total taxation rate in Natchitoches Parish was 64.5 mills.20 The table shows the State-wide practice of squandering by tax collectors.21

> Auditor Clinton presents to the rump Legislature the following named tax collectors as defaulters, with the amounts they are short.

<sup>17</sup> Caucasian, August 1, 1874.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.
19 Louisiana Democrat, October 27, 1875.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 921; Natchitoches, Louisiana, People's Vindicator, October 17, 1874.
<sup>21</sup> People's Vindicator, January 30, 1875. Tangipahoa Parish appears twice on the list.

exactly as it suits him. If it is more convenient to him to belong to one club than another, or to belong to none at all, he must be free to exercise his choice. . . For instance, no one has delegated to the mother clubs, the central clubs, or to the State Executive Committee itself, how many Republican organizations there shall be in each parish. . . The so-called central clubs ought not to be permitted to assume a dictatorial attitude toward other organizations in the same ward, nor to arrogate to them-selves powers which have not been formally conferred upon them by some competent authority.

The first negro league club of 1874 was effected in St. Mary Parish whence it spread to Bienville.30 Throughout the spring and summer others were founded in many parishes.31 Predominating aims of the Radicals were asserted in resolutions passed by Madison Parish Republicans at Delta:32

- We declare it to be the sworn duty of every true Republican to give his undivided support, and to stand firmly and undaunted by the nominees of the party; and that we shall consider all who may fail to do so as traitors to the league with our common enemy, the Domocracy, and as such shall treat them . . .
- We declare that in our opinion the mutual interests of our people and of all classes will best be subserved by the immediate passage and strict enforcement of the civil rights bill now before Congress.

These negro clubs used ostracism and intimidation in extreme degrees among their own folks to build an impregnable party.33 Under no circumstances would they allow a negro to take an inactive stand toward them; and should one go over to the Conservatives, he would suffer bodily harm. A critical Democratic view of the negro clubs is given in an Alexandria paper:34

> By the constant repetition and reiteration of such per (n) icious falsehoods in the midnight conclaves of the negro huts and in their churches in the broad light of day, the carpet-bagger and scalawag has (sic) succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations in hoodwinking

<sup>30</sup> Lonn, op. cit., p. 256.
31 Bulletin, May to July, 1874; Republican, May to July, 1874.
32 Republican, June 25, 1874.
33 J. B. Elzy, Colfax, Louisiana, and "Uncle" Rowland, Coushatta, Louisiana, both egroes, the latter a Radical constable, related personal experiences which illustrate the verity of negro ostracism.
34 Caucasian, April 18, 1874.

the poor negro, and in securing for himself the coveted prize of office, with its illegitimate pickings and its opportunities for barefaced stealing.

To assist the negroes and Radicals of the country in withstanding any possible oppression, the Kellogg government or some closely allied friends of it in New Orleans shipped arms during June and July to the Red River country of northwestern Louisiana. A shipment of a large number of guns arrvied at Loggy Bayou, between Coushatta and Shreveport. About five hundred more were forwarded to negroes at Twenty-four Mile Ferry, on Cane river in Natchitoches Parish.

To oppose the nefarious acts and organizations of the carpet-baggers and negroes, it was evident to the white element that they must win the fall election. If not, the scheming Radical Legislature would completely submerge them in the mire of pauperism and political helplessness. The initial move toward white unity was inaugurated by the establishment of the Caucasian<sup>36</sup> in Alexandria to fight the opposition in the name of white supremacy, as its title suggests. That paper's first appeal<sup>37</sup> was that the negro ranks had been "cemented in every campaign since 1867," by direct appeals to their race prejudices. Continually the race issue, "for they comprehend no other," had been the perpeteration of negro domination by excluding white men from office. "The leading political principle of the negro is his unconquerable hatred of the white race."

The race issue had been made by their leaders and "however unfortunate, it may be for the best interests of both, there is no alternative but to accept it." In vain attempts to get their support, the white people had "barbecued and feasted the negro." They invited black public speakers on the stand with them and "engaged in a sort of politico-social equality." The Conservatives in every political convention, through the press and from the stump, "assured them of our intention to honestly protect them in all their rights of citizenship"—Thus, nothing remains but to accept the issue of race.

ar Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Bulletin, July 4, 1874.

<sup>36</sup> March 28, 1874, was the first issue.

Later, in reply to criticisms against it for raising a race conflict, the Caucasian emphatically asserted that,<sup>38</sup>

This is not a fact, and if the whites do organize a party upon that issue, they will not be responsible for the arraying of the two races in political conflict. The responsibility will rest upon the negro, alias the Republican party, who since 1868 has held the balance of political power in this State, upon that issue alone . . . And now when we, having grown weary of tame submission to this most desolating war of the negro upon us, propose to take a bold stand to assert the dignity of our manhood, to say in tones of thunder and with the voice of angry elements STOP! THUS FAR SHALT THOU GO, AND NO FURTHER! We are met with the babyish wail and old maidish horrified whine of, 'Oh! Please don't! You will array the two races in conflict!' Who has been preaching a crusade of race for seven years?

By the first of June the Opelousas Courier, Bulletin, Shreveport Times, New Orleans Picayune, the Morning Star, and the
Catholic Messenger had joined hands with the Caucasian in advocating a white man's party. Later nearly all Democratic presses
except the New Orleans Times fell in line with the movement.
The Sherevport Comet in its conversion editorial said it was
willing and always had been to give the negro all he needed
and that should have made him happy, free and contented. It
was not, and never would be, in favor of his ruling the State of
Louisiana any longer, and we swear by the Eternal Spirit that
rules the universe that we will battle against it to the day of
our death, if it costs us a prison or a gallows. Let the negro
be shown his place, treat him as he should be, but never, no
never will we submit more to his laws, . . . (as) we were born
free and will die free in spite of the powers this side of hell.

Many editors throughout the State unconditionally hailed the new movement. Nevertheless, a few hoped to avoid a split among the white element and advocated a conservative procedure. Though it was an independent press, the Reporter at Mansfield pleaded for unity and considerate action.<sup>42</sup> It was

39 Caucasian, May 16 to June 20, 1874.

42 Quoted in New Orleans, Times, July 1, 1874.

<sup>38</sup> May 23, 1874.

New Orleans, Louisiana, Times, May to October, 1874.
 Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 281, pt. III, p. 466.

ready to engage in an undertaking "calculated to relieve the pressure upon our impoverished and nearly ruined people;" but it was "not prepared to commit ourselves unreservedly to the support of this new scheme." If this paper went into the new party, it would lose all connection with the conservative elements of the State. "Consequently, we consider it a desperate move, and one that should be well weighed and not hastily entered into." Furthermore, it did not favor narrowing a white league down "to a strict partisan programme or standard. . . . We do not believe the name of White Man's party should be applied to any organization in this State, unless we are determined to win if we have to plunge the State into civil war. . . . We favor unity of action among the whites, but we do not approve of the suicidal policy of rejecting the co-operation of any voter who may wish to act with us."

The Bulletin<sup>43</sup> voiced a favorable opinion of the organization of the White League, at the same time advocating a strong Democratic party. "The latter will embrace certainly nothing but white men, and will in itself form a portion of the White League. We can see nothing inconsistent or unwise in this proposition. If the Democratic party is arrayed against the negro and the Republicans, it becomes a White League."

Toward the opposite extreme was the Shreveport Times.44 advocating severe measures by the White League. For that reason it was often called "Champion of White League democracy." July 10, 1874, it appealed to the whites to make the Colfax riot a lesson for the negroes. "We shall not pretend to conceal our gratification at the summary and wholesome lesson the negroes have been taught in Grant Parish. . . The wonder is not that there was one Colfax, but that there is not one in every parish." July 29, it ventured further. 45 "We say again that we fully, cordially approve what the white men of Grant and Rapides did at Colfax. The white man who does not is a creature so base that he shames the worst class of his species. We say again that we are going to carry the elections in this State next fall."

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in Caucasian, July 4, 1874. 44 Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sees., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 771. 45 Ibid., p. 767.

The Natchitoches People's Vindicator, 46 another White League extremist organ, pleaded with the white people to prepare immediately to meet all emergencies. It advised all wards in the parish to organize and use their "right hands" in concerted action. For it was "Better that we should occupy unnumbered graves than live as recreant cowards." It was not long before the Reporter discovered enough of the conservative white element in the ranks of the White League to make it safe to join that organization.47 It assured the whites that nothing could be gained by pleading or granting concessions, but everything within reach should be grasped. Everyone was informed of its readiness for "earnest" and "determined" action "regardless of the consequences." Again, on July 11, the same press<sup>48</sup> advised quick and thoroughly organized activity before the opposition could become concentrated, and maintained that the White League does "not intend that white carpet-baggers and renegades shall be permitted to organize and prepare the negroes for the coming campaign."

Almost as soon as the press of the State began to clamor for a united white man's party, Louisianans began to experiment successfully toward that end. April 27, 1874, as a result of an announcement the previous week, the white citizens of St. Landry Parish met at the court house in Opelousas.<sup>49</sup> There they formed the first white man's club for the ensuing campaign. The Courier<sup>50</sup> averred that the "inauguration of the 'White League' was attended by one of the largest and most respectable audiences that has assembled in Opelousas for many a day." Laurent Dupré and E. T. Lewis made earnest and appealing addresses to the white men "to unite in the movement." They explained to the assembly that their purpose was to organize "a 'White Man's Party,' having for its object the election of honest white men to office and to unite upon one white man for each office." These resolutions were adopted:<sup>51</sup>

<sup>46</sup> July 25, 1874.

<sup>47</sup> July 4, 1874, quoted in Republican, August 13, 1874.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Courier, May 2, 1874; Caucasian, May 16, 1874; A. Phelps, Louisiana, (A Record of Expansion), (Boston and New York, 1905), p. 376.

<sup>50</sup> May 2, 1874.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

WHEREAS, the colored people of the State of Louisiana, organized under the name of Republicans, have had undivided control of the legislation of the State since 1868, a period of six years, within which, although abundant opportunity has been given them to demonstrate their capacity as law makers, it can no longer be questioned that that capacity, whatever be its intellectual and moral measurement has not been used for the good of the country, but on the contrary, for its degredation—morally, socially and politically; and,

WHEREAS, the Republican party being composed almost entirely of negroes, without whose votes no one of the party could secure an office, they, the black people are responsible for the abuse of office and corrupt legislation under which the State has become bankrupt and public virtue ostracized from among its numbers; and,

WHEREAS, further, every effect heretofore made by the white people to conciliate the negro and to induce him to act with them, without reference to party distinctions, for the common good, has failed—whether he was appealed to by Democrats, Liberals or Independents; and,

WHEREAS, finally, the very efforts we have made in this direction is the true cause of division among ourselves; therefore,

Be it resolved, 1st, That we hold the colored people responsible for most of the evils arising from fraudulent and corrupt legislation, of which they have been masters since 1868; and while we may readily believe and do believe that many colored men are upright and honest, still, as a class they have been made the instruments in the hands of designing men, both white and black, through which the white tax-payer must eventually be beggared and driven with his family from the State, a pauper;

Resolved, 2d, That our experience with the colored people demonstrates their utter incapacity for good government while in ascendancy, and unless some effort be made to deprive them of their control of legislation in the State, the evils we suffer must continue and accumulate:

Resolved, 3d, That the failure of our past efforts at conciliation forbid a renewal of any further attempts at compromise, and that we deem a temporizing policy on this subject as fatal to the substantial interests of the State, detrimental to public virtue, and destructive to our self-respect and manhood;

Resolved, 4th, That the issue in the next campaign is not between Republicans and Democrats or Liberals but between the whites and blacks, and that that issue is: Shall the white people of Louisiana govern Louisiana?—in which we, whether we be Democrats, Liberals, or Independents, unhestitatingly declare for the ascendancy of the white man;

Resolved, 5th, That the conduct of the black man, as a politician, alone has forced upon the white man the necessity of making the issue in self-defense; and though we may not have united hitherto as Democrats or Liberals, we can and will unite as a race to protect ourselves against the unmeasured public and private plunder of the other race;

Resolved, 6th, That in uniting as white men, pledged to labor for the ascendancy of the white race in the State, our object is to place the law-making power in hands of those who will protect our property and not rob us through the medium of taxation, who can read and write and understand something about the rights of person and property, and not to abridge any rights the negro has under the laws. We leave him to vote as he chooses, and run for office if he wishes; but we tell him plainly he cannot get our vote, and that we do not want him as a party or race to make our laws.

Resolved, 7th, That we recognize the necessity of union among ourselves upon one white man for each office, and that we earnestly invite all white men, without regard to former party affiliations, to unite with us under the banner of the 'White League,' which alone can rescue us from dissention and defeat...

Alcée Dupré, President.

A. P. Williams, J. Frank Knox,

Secretaries.

The movement for white unity for the campaign in St. Landry Parish was furthered by a mass-meeting at Washington, Louisiana,<sup>52</sup> where a set of similar resolutions were drawn and accepted under the name of "White League." The *Caucasian*,<sup>53</sup> May 16, was jubilant to know that initiative had been taken to effect the purpose for which it was founded.

<sup>52</sup> Courier, May 16, 1874.
53 1874. In the same issue the Caucasian reprinted a statement from the Hulletin which strongly urged whites of New Orleans to unite.

The Courier became the first official White League press in the State.54 It gave full editorial rights to the League on May 25, and reported similar organs existing in St. Landry, Lafayette, St. Martin, St. Mary Parishes, and New Orleans. 55 In North Louisiana probably the first successful similar club was formed in De Soto Parish, at Mansfield.56 White men from the whole Parish responded to the call and "jammed" the court house. Great response was made to calls, especially in northwestern Louisiana and in the land of the Attakapas. Leagues were established in Caddo, Winn, Rapides, Natchitoches, Red River, Avoyelles, St. Tammany, Tensas, Terrebonne, and other Parishes.<sup>57</sup> In Franklin and Richland Parishes the whites combined to recognize no Kellogg official and to notify all such officials<sup>58</sup> "that they . . . must give way to the people's choice." They urged other Parishes to join in a similar movement.

A close observation of various White League resolutions reveals that in general there were no inter-Parish connections over the entire State. Nearly all of the Parish clubs termed themselves "White League," but some few called their clubs by other names. 59 Besides differences of nomenclature each Parish had major or minor variations in aims. No set of resolutions was the same as any other in wording or meaning. Nor is there any record of a hierarchy above that of the Parish systems. The resolutions of each club were apparently designed for purely local purposes and the State was to be affected only incidentally through local reform.

The Opelousas resolutions show that the whites of that club desired no further co-operation with negroes in politics, for "the very efforts we have made in that direction is the true cause of division among ourselves." Some Parishes were not so ready to renounce the help of willing factions of blacks. The St. Tammany White League was anxious to unite all citizens who were

<sup>54</sup> Courier, August 1, 1874.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Crescent City White League" was formed July 2, and was somewhat different The from Parish Leagues.

<sup>58</sup> Courier, July 11, 1874; Bulletin, July 7, 1874.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Courier, July 11, 1874; Butletin, July 7, 1874.

<sup>57</sup> Repub'ican, July to August, 1874; Caucasian, July to August, 1874; Bulletin, July to August, 1874.

<sup>58</sup> New Orleans Times, September 20, 1874.

<sup>59</sup> Caucasian, July 25, 1874 The Winn Parish assembly agreed upon a "White Man's Party"; Republican, July 14. The Caddo meeting was a "White Man's League". Other variations of name appear. In Alexandria, the home of the Caucasian, a "White Man's Party" was organized, Courier, August 22, 1874.

alike "interested in securing an honest administration," and cordially invited all "good citizens, regardless of color," to aid them in electing honest and capable officers. There was no opposition to the negro in Tensas Parish. In their resolutions the citizens proclaimed the negroes a "docile and quiet race,"61 and extended "the right hand of fellowship to all men of every nationality, race and color." They invited the blacks to help "strike the shackles from Louisiana."

Franklin Parish White Leaguers, in a nominating convention,62 were ready to admit the negro who was desirous to unite with the white cause. "We, . . . do hereby declare that we recognize fully and freely, all the political and civil rights of the colored people, and in order to give them a conclusive guarantee of our good faith in this recognition,"—it was resolved to remove the name of any white man from the ticket if a more competent negro could be had, provided such substitutions amounted to no more than half the ticket.

Not all negroes opposed the White League. An illustration of some congeniality between the races in Iberia Parish can be seen in the attitude of the Colored Baptist Church at Petite Anse.63 The whole congregation adopted resolutions to support the native whites, believing "by sad experience that our truest and best friends are the white people, among whom we were born and raised."

In respect to Parish organization nearly all clubs were similar. Natchitoches, Red River, and Iberia Parishes<sup>64</sup> well illustrate the thoroughness of their development. Each had local or ward clubs, and every ward was represented in a central committee. These varied in composition.65 In Red River the ward clubs and Parish organization came into existence at the same meeting. The ward clubs, five in number, orignized first; then the presidents convened to elect of their number a president, vice-president, secretary, and assistant secretary. The group of five constituted the Central Executive Committee. The organiza-

<sup>60</sup> Bulletin, August 21, 1874.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> New Orleans Times, October 18, 1874.

<sup>63</sup> Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 seas., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, pp. 615-616.

<sup>64</sup>People's Vindicator, August 8, 22, 1874; Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 seas., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, pp. 506, 614.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

tion of ward clubs of Natchitoches was a separate affair and was complete by the day of centralization. Composition of the Central Executive Committee of that Parish was different, in that there was one representative of every ward and five at large, all appointed by the presiding officer of the Parish convention. The first meeting of the Central Committee of Iberia was composed of seven representatives from the first ward club. including the president and vice-president. The president of the second ward club, the president of Fausse Pointe club, the president of De Blanc club, and the vice-president of Coteau club were the others. They convened, elected a president, vice-president, and secretary; then they adopted a series of resolutions for the Parish at large. In Tensas a similar organization was effected with corresponding resolutions, but no mention was made of "White League." It took the title, "Democratic" club.66

For some time after agitation for a White League began, there was neither a State organization nor anything to approach a State central committee. However, as soon as the League got on foot, various papers in the Attakapas and in the northwestern parts of Louisiana began enthusiastic demands for a State white Union. Realizing the dangers of calling a convention in New Orleans, where there would likely be intervention by Kellogg, the Shreveport Times, Louisiana Democrat, and Caucasianer all advocated a convention to be held somewhere outside of that city. The Courier, 68 which was the leading press of the White League in the Attakapas country, joined the other papers to further a State party. Yet there was no authority to call such a convention. Too, the State Central Democratic Committee early in July had interrupted the plan of these papers by calling a Democratic convention to meet at New Orleans August 24.69

The Shreveport Times, a reputable Democratic press, took the initiative. 70 It asserted that, since there was no constituted authority to which they could look for a call to convene, it would assume a temporary authority; then called "a Convention of the White People to assemble" at Alexandria on September 1, 1874. The Caucasian straightway sanctioned the authority of

<sup>66</sup> Bulletin, August 21, 1874.

<sup>67</sup> Caucasian, July 25, 1874. 68 July 4, 1874.

<sup>69</sup> Caucasian, July 25, 1874. 70 Ibid.

the call, and condemned the State Central Democratic Committee for interrupting the reform program. It also criticized that Committee for being an ultra-conservatist in hoping for negro support.

Dissension and lack of co-operation among the Louisianans was due to old party hatreds which had not been entirely effaced. The opponents of the Radicals were composed of various elements,72 "democrats, reformers, dissatisfied republicans, liberal republicans, (and) old whigs." But the moment for unified activity had arrived. The State Central Democratic Committee compromised73 by agreeing to meet at Baton Rouge on August 24. Thereupon, the whites of Caddo, Rapides, De Soto, Bossier, Bienville, and other Parishes, in "a blaze of excitement"74 and enthusiasm, prepared to free themselves from Kellogg's usurpation and elected delegates to the Baton Rouge convention.

As the whites strove for union and formed the White League in St. Landry Parish, the Radical press lost no opportunity to criticize it. "The parish of St. Landry has taken the lead in the proposed resistance," said the Republican. 15 "It is not willing that the black people shall hold office." On the other extreme the Louisiana State Register advocated, as a means of destroying the White League, a complete reform of the Republican Party, so that no reason could be had for establishing a white man's party. General Hugh J. Campbell, speaking of the stand taken by the white people in 1874, denounced it as "The White League Conspiracy Against Free Government."77

Outside the South there were White League sympathizers. The New York World<sup>78</sup> asserted that the North should distinctly understand that the "White Man's Party" had been called into being by Northern Radicals instead of Southern whites. For wherever there was a post office, a military station, an office of the Freedmen's Bureau, a fiscal agent of the Federal Govern-

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.
72 Reports of Committees, 48 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 8.
73 Courier, August 8, 1874.
74 Louisiana Democrat, August 19, 1874.
75 June 19, 1874.
75 Quoted in Caucasian, September 5, 1874.
77 Title of his speech in New Orleans, January 11, 1875. It appeared in pamphlet form, cit., published by the Republican.
78 Quoted in Louisiana Democrat, September 2, 1874.

ment, Northern Radicals were at evil work dividing the community against itself—negroes against whites—"making in short that 'black man's party'," which was used to rule the country. It concluded that from the division thus created, the only natural result possible was the white man's party.

That there was no specific state-wide organization can be seen from the resolutions adopted at the convention as a fusion platform:<sup>79</sup>

We, the white people of Louisiana, embracing the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party, the White Man's Party, the Liberal Party, the Reform Party and all others opposed to the Kellogg usurpation do solemnly resolve and declare:

- 1. That the government now existing in Louisiana originated in, and has been maintained by force and fraud, in opposition to the will of a large majority of the voters of the State; . . .
- 2. That the dominant faction of the Radical Party in this State has, by false and fraudulent representations, inflamed the passions and prejudices of the negroes, as a race, against the whites, and has thereby made it necessary for the white people to unite and act together in self-defense and the preservation of white civilization.
- 5. That we disclaim earnestly any intention of carrying, or attempting to carry, the approaching election by violence, and that charges to this effect emanating from our Radical enemies, are without foundation and are falsely made for the purpose of obtaining the aid of the military force of the United States in order to overawe the people, perpetuate the existing usurpation and subvert the true principles of the government.
- 6. That W. P. Kellogg is a mere usurper and we denounce him as such, that his government is arbitrary, unjust and oppressive; and that it can maintain itself only through Federal interference.
- 7. That the election and registration laws under which this election is being conducted were intended to perpetuate the usurpation by depriving the people and especially our naturalized citizens of an oportunity to register and vote, but we announce distinctly, that it is the determination of the people to have a fair and free election and to see that the result is not changed by fraud or violence.

<sup>70</sup> Courier, September 12, 1874; People's Vindicator, September 26, 1874.

Notwithstanding the moderate platform of the Baton Rouge convention, it was impossible to stem the tide of independent club work. Once the white wave began, favorable and enthusiastic papers of Louisiana did not stop with the party's conservative resolutions. Instead they issued wide-spread demands for extreme action. The Louisiana Democrat\*o declared that the people were determined to get rid of the Kellogg government, and that they would "not scruple about the means as they had done in the past." The Minden Democrat's remedy for all the evils that afflicted the State under negro and carpet-bag rule was simply to look after the "incendiaries who flood our country." The "proceedings of midnight gatherings in dark and gloomy places must be known." It determined to tolerate no longer the activity of carpet-baggers and scalawags among the black race.

At a meeting in early August, the St. Mary Parish White League emphasized in resolutions<sup>82</sup> that, "Come what may, upon the Radical party must rest the whole responsibility of this conflict, and as sure as there is a just God in heaven, their unnatural cold blooded and revengeful measures of reconstruction in Louisiana will meet with a terrible retribution." The People's Vindicator, the Reporter, the Shreveport Times, and other papers<sup>83</sup> also inspired the White League to use severe methods in overthrowing the Radicals. But the Republican organ,84 as the League papers published their programs, threatened the whites. It stated that their developments early in the campaign were fortunate. If they continued their measures "tents of the federal army . . . (will be) pitched in our villages." To this threat the Shreveport Times replied, assuring the "White League, upon the authority of Justice Bradley, that in violating the law of the State they have nothing to fear except the authorities of the State."

While party lines and hatreds grew more fierce and outspoken in Louisiana, a New Orleans paper86 ventured to estimate

<sup>July 15, 1874; also quoted in Republican, August 18, 1874.
Quoted in Republican, August 13, 1874.
Joid.
Ibid.</sup> 

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., August 2, 1874.

85 Quoted in Ibid.

86 Report of Committees, 48 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V. No. 261, pt. III, p. 792, quoting

the strength of the White League of the State "now organized and armed (at) fourteen thousand men; over one-half inured to battle and privation." The Minden Democrat<sup>87</sup> criticized the estimate as too low, and asserted, "there are ten thousand in North Louisiana alone who are ready and willing to march at the first clarion notes of the bugle that calls them in defense of their rights, and the deep sense of wrong that they have been compelled to submit to in the bayonet government will make them no ordinary foes in the event that a conflict is precipitated upon them!"

Under these circumstances it was not difficult for Dr. Thos. Cottman,88 to surmise: "There must be a change or Civil War is inevitable. . . There certainly will be a conflict of races soon. I think the crisis will occur about September next."

## CHAPTER III

## OVERTHROW OF RADICALS IN NATCHITOCHES PARISH

Though the whites were active in nearly all of the Parishes of the State, and especially in the Attakapas region, the most pronounced White League work was accomplished in northwestern Louisiana. For it was there in the Red River valley from Shreveport to Alexandria that the negroes were most numerous. Since Natchitoches, the mother of Parishes, was more experienced in parochial government, it was only natural that her opposition to Kellogg authority and officials should be copied by neighboring Parishes which suffered similar afflictions.

Under the Warmoth and early Kellogg administrations Radical police juries of Natchitoches were greatly under the control of one man, Judge H. C. Myers.1 According to Congressional investigation he used his influence in several fraudulent ways.2 His record shows that he interested himself far more in accumulation of wealth than in the administration of justice.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., quoting Minden, Louisiana, Democrat, August 29, 1874.
88 Dr. Thomas Cottman, a commissioner of the Government to examine conditions in Louisiana, made this report which appeared in New York Herald, June 5, 1874, quoted in Bulletin, June 10, 1874.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, passim. <sup>2</sup> Ibid.

He was the power behind the throne of the police jury. He had that body appropriate six hundred dollars on one occasion for a small pamphlet which they printed. At another time Myers and some of his confederates were authorized to build a toll bridge across a small stream between Natchitoches and Grand Ecore. Several people estimated that the structure ordinarily should have cost three or four hundred dollars. Yet, the contractors, of whom Judge Myers was one, received \$1,500; and in addition a franchise for twenty years with the right to tax heavily all persons and conveyances of every kind which crossed the bridge. The total yearly receipts of the toll, witnesses declared,3 reached as much as \$5,000.

During twenty months of 1871-1872 there were issued \$24,-000 of Parish paper to paupers alone. Some of the recipients procured money under two names. Other warrants were made to men who had been dead for years, or did not exist at all. A committee which investigated the books of the police jury believed "one half of the paupers to whom warrants were issued" never saw them.4 Almost all of the vouchers had the endorsement of the jury clerk. The same man issued to himself \$1,000, which upon investigation could not be explained any further than that he had received it.

Judge Myers had the police jury pass a measure providing for the preparation of a local map by surveyor H. Percy for which "five or six thousand dollars" was paid. Percy, in open court, testified that he offered to do the work for a cost of \$1,000 in parish paper or \$500 in currency.5

Taxation rates in Natchitoches Parish also gave rise to much discontent.6 In 1861 the valuation of property was \$8,085,187, the Parish tax being one and two-thirds mills, which yielded \$13,475.32, exclusive of State tax. For 1869 the total assessed value of property dropped to \$2,930,905, but a rate of sixteen mills netted \$46,894.48 exclusive of State tax. By 1873 the assessed property value fell to \$1,274,540, and the rate of taxation was further increased to sixty-four mills, producing

<sup>3 ·</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

Ibid., H. Percy was also the supervisor for the above mentioned bridge.
 Ibid., pp. 521, 539; People's Vindicator, October 17, 1874; Caucasian, May 9, 1874.

\$82,207.83, exclusive of a fourteen and one-half mills State tax. Thus, the total tax rate imposed in Natchitoches mounted to seventy-eight and one-half mills in 1874, since taxes for 1873 were collected in the following year.7

For 1874 the Parish received a \$15,000 or \$20,000 school fund, but there was only one school—a colored one.8 Had it not been for the exertion of the Catholic bishop, the whites would have had no education. In that one Parish school there were but three teachers. Raford Blunt, a negro State Senator who could neither read nor write, was a member of the school board, and had himself appointed as teacher with a monthly salary of one hundred dollars.

With its high taxation Natchitoches was not free from indebtedness, which in itself was a source of evil.9 In 1871 there existed a judgment-debt of \$40,000. A special over assessment of \$52,000 in currency was made to meet payments. However, after the assessment was passed, the Parish incurred other debts by issuing more script on future terms. The tax collector, D. H. Boullt, Sr., who claimed the authority of disbursing public money, proceeded in his name to buy up the last issued paper at a large discount. Then, before paying off the previously incurred debt of \$40,000, Boullt cashed in the receipts pro rata. Parish money was used in both transactions. Also, to make his case more objectionable, the tax collector allowed himself a number of appropriations amounting to several thousand dollars for which he could not account.10

Grievances in Natchitoches before 1873 were very similar to those of other downtrodden Parishes,11 but by the clever efforts of her native politicians she compromised with Kellogg12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Caucasian, May 9, 1874. In this paper appeared a quota of taxes published by tax collector, D. H. Boullt, April 29, 1874. It follows:

"Property Valuation \$3,250

State Tax 14½ mills \$47.13 Special Parish Parish School 130.00 65.00 mills mills 21/2 mills 8.13 mills Poll tax \$1.00-This notice 25 cents 1.25 Total ...

<sup>8</sup> Chambers, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 678, 679.
9 Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 540.
10 Ibid., pt. III, passim.
12 Ibid., pp. 551-553.

in April, 1873. The citizens accepted Myers as judge in order to get other positions filled with their own men. Though opposed to the judge the representative committee felt that they could better protect property interests by retaining control over the offices of sheriff and recorder, and a voice in the police jury. Thus, while there was much dissatisfaction with the Kellogg administration during its first year, 1873, there was no instance of forceful opposition by the white citizens.13

As a result of the influence of his Radical friends in Natchitoches, Kellogg had a new judicial district, the seventeenth, created in the spring of 1874.14 Immediately he elevated Myers to the new judgeship. Then the Executive filled that vacancy by appointng D. H. Boullt, Jr., son of the tax collector, judge of Natchitoches Parish. Further, he repudiated his compromise of 1873 by appointing a completely Radical police jury.15

Almost at once Myers and the new jury embarked upon another era of pillage. The tax collector, who had been indicted for fraud in the old district court, now had his case dismissed since it came under the jurisdiction of the Seventeenth District Court, presided over by Myers. 16 Again, the judge appealed to the new jury, composed of three negroes and two whites-four illiterate—for a \$900 appropriation for an immigration bureau on his own plan. Yet, the crowning inglorious act of that group, perhaps, was an ordinance passed to give themselves fifty cents a mile for traveling expenses. This was to evade a State law which allowed a limited number of days for one session—too short to please the police jury.17 The whole group of Parish officials now labored to benefit themselves by confiscating lands. Within one week in the early summer "30,000 acres of land . . . (were) offered at sale for taxes"18

To enable their party to make the best of the situation and to prolong their period of control by winning the fall election, the Radicals of the Parish convened at the court house in Natchi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> People's Vindicator, August 1, 1874.
<sup>14</sup> March, 1874. The compromise jury, 1873 to 1874, was known as the Simmons Police Jury, Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sees., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, pp. 551-553; People's Vindicator, August 1, 1874.

Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261 pt. III, pp. 551-553.
 Ibid., p. 538; Bulletin, July 5, 1874.
 People's Vindicator, August 1, 1874.

toches.19 The State Central Republican Committee had previously invited delegates from all the ward clubs to attend the convention. There they organized an Executive Committee. Five resolutions heartily approved the Kellogg and Grant administrations and expressed a desire to see them continue.20 By the first of July they were well organized for the campaign.21

This new era of Radicalism in Natchitoches Parish caused the conflict which soon ensued. To resist the unjust measures and taxes a large, enthusiastic body of taxpayers convened in the Firemen's Hall on June 13. Many citizens of all classes attended, according to the People's Vindicator,22 and without respect to party or color voted a series of fourteen resolutions. They proclaimed their objections to the parish officials, district judge, high taxes, and especially to the acts of the police jury. A Committee of Seventy was appointed to inspect the jury records, and it was arranged to have a sub-committee attend that body's meetings, especially the next. The convention resolved itself into a Citizens' Reform Association, and adjourned to meet again on June 27.

Before the next meeting Raford Blunt pretended to frighten the reformers, so as to prevent another convention. He declared that the "negroes could and would whip out the white people at any time."23 However, encouragement came from without. The Caucasian advised Natchitoches "that if the negroes start any such programme, to take a firm stand, and maintain it at all hazards. If . . . (you) need any help Rapides is ready and willing in such an emergency to come to . . . (your) assistance. Take your stand and let us know if you want us."24 Assured by such sentiment the People's Vindicator,25 on the day set for the convention of the Reform Association, asked the people not to "fail in your Mass Meeting today to enforce the resignation of those members of the Police Jury you have pronounced either corrupt or incompetent." That day when the citizens assembled, they were inspired by stirring speeches, one of which emanated from

<sup>19</sup> Republican, May 26, 1874. 20 Ibid. 21 Ibid., July 12, 1874. 21 June 20, 1874. 22 Caucasian, June 20, 1874. 24 Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> June 27, 1874.

Captain T. W. Abney, Democrat, white leader of Red River Parish.26 He strongly urged them to overthrow the Radicals. They drew up a series of resolutions<sup>27</sup> whereby they appealed to Governor Kellogg to remove J. R. Hornsby, Ed. Mitchell, Sam Black, and John Holmes from the police jury because of their corruptness or incompetency. Further, they submitted a petition which named four citizens to replace the corrupt men. A committee of three was appointed to present the petition to the Executive.28 And finally, July 6 was set for the last meeting of the Radical police jury.

Following this meeting a Natchitoches correspondent of the Bulletin<sup>29</sup> wrote that "We have had two rousing taxpayers meetings and we have proclaimed to the cormorants (white) and their negro allies that they could go no further. The negroes were told in unmistakable terms that we had offered everything to them that we could and that hereafter, we were two peoples, the whites and the blacks, and if they choose now to come to us, we would welcome them as coadjutors in the reformation we were about to start." Further, the People's Vindicator advised their "native white fellow-citizens of Louisiana, who have arrayed themselves against their white brothers, to retrace their steps while there is still time left to do so . . . when the conflict will have commenced it will be too late then."30

Meanwhile, on July 4 a "Grand Rally" was staged by the negroes and their white leaders, in which they pretended to make customary celebrations the order of the day, but at which they spiritedly condemned the native whites.31 It was no surprise. The citizens had looked forward to the negro rally as being of that nature and were fully prepared for the occasion. The People's Vindicator gave the white opinion when it said, "We people of the Parish of Natchitoches, are determined to drive these leaders away peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must."32 Many white people congregated just out of town while the negro meet-

<sup>26</sup> Bryan, op. cit., pp. 204-209.

<sup>27</sup> People's Vindicator, July 4, 1874; Bulletin, July 5 and 11, 1874.

<sup>28</sup> Republican, August 1, 1874.

<sup>29</sup> July 5, 1874. 30 Quoted in Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 550. 31 People's Vindicator, July 11, 1874. Previous to the meeting State Senator Raford Blunt, a former negro slave, had constantly made incendiary speeches to inflame the negroes. He recalled days of torture while a slave by telling the negroes that his back was filled with scars inflicted during his life in slavery, Bulletin, July 5, 11, 1874.

<sup>\*2</sup> Quoted in Caucasian, July 11, 1874.

ing was in session. Some one reported to the blacks that the whites were coming to disrupt their assembly. Negroes and Radicals in fright immediately fled, and the police jurors resigned "unconditionally." Now it appeared that Natchitoches was at least partially in the hands of its own people. The Louisiana Democrat stated that "Natchitoches Parish is cleansed and her recuperation is begun."33

Even though the Parish was rid of the corrupt police jury, the old problems of high taxes and the district judgeship yet had to be overcome. It was known that in a meeting of the Citizens' Reform Association of July 27, they would ask the tax collector, D. H. Boullt, Sr., Judge Myers, and others to resign.34 Two days prior to the convention Judges Myers and Boullt left the Parish to avoid personal injury. In spite of this, the tax collector defied the people the day previous to the meeting when he threatened35 that should they harm him, "there would not be two hundred bales of cotton shipped from the parish of Natchitoches, there would not be a dozen houses left standing in it; and that night itself would be made hideous with the shrieks of women and children to attest his revenge."36 This infuriated the whites, who clamored next day for his resignation, which was effected by a special committee of thirteen delegates.37 The People's Vindicator thanked Captain T. W. Abney, Joseph Pierson, and B. F. Wolfson, noted citizens of Red River Parish, for their presence.38 In a speech in the United States Senate,39 Benjamin F. Jonas attributed the action of the citizens of Natchitoches to the incendiary work and threats of the Radicals to ruin the parish by burning the town, murdering the citizens, and "violating its women."

The action of the Citizen's Reform Association had its desired effects. It rid Natchitoches of the negroes and their leaders. Lastly, on August 3, 1874, the State auditor, Charles Clin-

<sup>33</sup> July 25, 1874.

<sup>34</sup> Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 758.

35 Ibid., p. 538.

36 Ibid., p. 550.

37 Ibid. Sher Lf C. C. Nash, who was one of the white officers and leader in the Co'fax riot, April 13, 1873, and who was in 1874 h'ding out in Sabine Parish to evade arrest, attended this convention; Republican, August 7, 1874.

<sup>38</sup> August 1, 1874.

39 Speech of Hon. Benjamin F. Jonas, of Louisiana, in the Senate of the United States,
May 20, 1879, 24 pp., (Washington, D. C., 1879), p. 20.

ton, advised the tax collector\* that according to the assistant attorney general, taxes of his Parish must not exceed one hundred per cent of the State tax, which was fourteen and one-half mills. Thereupon, Natchitoches' taxes dropped fifty mills, which reduced them to twenty-nine.

This Parish had set the mark for which others were to strive. The Bulletin<sup>41</sup> appealed to other Parishes to fall in line, "and the sooner (they) follow the lead of Natchitoches, the sooner the villains who have been robbing us will leave for more congenial climes." On the contrary, realizing an opportunity from which to make political capital, the Republican<sup>42</sup> condemned the actions in Natchitoches as that of "Ku-Klux and armed bands from Texas, etc.," hinting for more United States troops. Within another week armed bands of whites forced Radical officials to resign in Webster and St. Martin Parishes. The Bulletin rejoiced that Natchitoches really had become an inspiration.<sup>43</sup>

In other Parishes the White League was the organization that overthrew Radicals after Natchitoches opened the way. They had in some cases formed the League rather early in the campaign. In Natchitoches Parish it was the Citizen's Reform Association which actually cast out corrupt officials. Still it remained to carry the fall election. To that end the *People's Vindicator* on July 25<sup>44</sup> issued a call for the citizens to convene in a mass meeting following the adjournment of the Reform Association on July 27. The object was "to take into consideration the propriety of organizing the White League."

Due to the excitement stirred up and the long program on July 27, when the Radicals resigned, the White League meeting was postponed until August 8.45 According to previous announcements46 there were Leagues organized in some of the wards, so that at the meeting of August 8, the whites quickly formed a

41 August 1, 1874. 42 Quoted in Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> New Orleans Times, August 5, 1874; Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 541.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> August 9, 1874; Courier, August 15, 1874. Alcibiades De Blanc, according to the Republican, August 29, 1874, led seven hundred men, White Leaguers, into St. Martinsville and forced the Radicals to resign. Then he proffered his assistance to Iberia Parish. De Blanc was a Colonel in the Confederate States Army and was the leader of the Knights of the White Camelia, 1867-1868, in the Attakapas country.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., August 22, 1874. 46 Ibid., August 1, 1874.

White League. A committee composed of one from each ward drew up the resolutions. They declared that they desired concerted action of Louisiana whites to enable native men to succeed Radicals in public office. Also, they demanded abolition of Republican rule in the several parochial systems. Further, in order to carry the election, incendiary white leaders, who controlled the blacks, must be stopped. They favored fair treatment of the negro, but would not permit ignorant, easily influenced blacks to hold office only to act as "dupes and willing tools of vicious leaders." Finally, the League denounced the "white men who support and affiliate with the radical negro domination as enemies of the white race."47

## CHAPTER IV

## THE WHITE LEAGUE IN RED RIVER PARISH

The Legislature of 1858 attempted to form a new Parish, to be named Red River, from the southern portions of De Soto, Caddo, Bienville, and the northeastern portion of Natchitoches.1 Though the people of that region were anxious for the passage of the measure, it failed because of a technicality. That section of the State was a progressive agricultural district with no town of any size. Coushatta, near the center of the proposed Parish, was only a shipping point with a plank warehouse for storage purposes, and it remained as such until 1869.

In the fall of that year Messrs. Lisso and Brothers, Messrs. Abney and Love, John F. Stephens and Company, W. W. Upshaw, M. L. Pickens, and others all purchased lots and began building. "A number of neat, and in some instances elegant, country stores and residences were built, and for a while the little place thrived and prospered on the trade of the surrounding country." It was about this time that an able and ambitious man, Marshal H. Twitchell, a native of New Hampshire who had been stationed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> It is interesting to note that in Ward E'even of Natchitoches Parish, where a large free negro population lived before the war, there was formed a Colored Democratic Club to cooperate with the White League. It was composed of sixty-nine members who were "of the old free colored element, men of property before the war." Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p .546.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> People's Vindicator, December 21, 1878. <sup>2</sup> Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 cess., Vol. V. No. 261, pt. III, p. 489.

in the neighborhood of Coushatta as a United States official, realized that he could become politically prominent.3 He took advantage of the natives' desire for a new Parish and through his influence with Governor Warmoth he had the Legislature create Red River Parish in 1871.4 Twitchell had only recently prevailed upon his brother and six other Northern men and their families to come to Coushatta.5 These enterprising men brought with them Northern methods, machinery, and mills, bought lands for a "song" and soon developed a prosperous business at the new town. In characteristic fashion they played upon the negroes' prejudices and fears and won their confidence.6 Since this prosperous town was comprised to a large extent of Northern men, it soon became prominent as the Radical headquarters of northwestern Louisiana. Even M. H. Twitchell admitted this fact before a Congressional investigating commttee.7

From the very formation of the Parish of Red River the white people became somewhat dissatisfied with Twitchell. He was appointed State Senator from that district and E. W. Dewees was the Representative.8 Louisiana law provided that the Parish must have at least five wards,9 with one police juror representing each. At the suggestion of Senator Twitchell the first police jury was created by the Governor, who appointed the Senator himself, E. W. Dewees, F. S. Edgerton, P. E. Roach, and Pryor Porter—a negro. Other than Twitchell not one of the jurors had resided in the new Parish for a year. Further, to the disgust of the people three of the five jurors were from ward one, leaving three unrepresented.10 All of these men were directly controlled by the Senator to whom they owed their appointments.

This leader was a man of schemes and frauds. Earlier in his connection with that region, he had got an appropriation of \$30,000 from the State Legislature for the purpose of clearing Lake Bisteneau for navigation. His work was a sham. Only a few trees were felled, but he drew the full appropriation.<sup>11</sup> It

Bryan, op. cit., pp. 52, 53.
 Ibid.; Reports of Committees, 44 Cong., 1 seas., Vol. IX, No. 816, p. 699; People's Vindicator, December 21, 1878.
 Ibid., 43 Cong., 2 seas., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. I, p. 16.
 Ibid., Bryan, op. cit., pp. 130-131.
 Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 seas., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 391.
 Ibid., 44 Cong., 1 seas., Vol. IX, No. 816, p. 699.
 Ibid., bryan

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Bryan, op. cit., pp. 58-54; A. F. Manghram, personal interview.

was this easily made money which enabled the Radical leader to make his investment at Coushatta in mills and a plantation, Starlight, across Red River from the town.

Later, to protect his property and interests at Starlight from dangers of the overflow of Red river, Twitchell had the police jury appropriate a sum of \$10,000 to build a levee across Honey Bayou.12 It was pretended that the levee would be permanent and would afford protection for several square miles. Twitchell and Dewees, who secured the appropriation, contracted with F. S. Edgerton, a third police juror, to construct an inferior levee, and they pocketed the surplus. The levee never was officially approved by an engineer, a high water having washed it away the evening it was accepted by M. H. Twitchell. Soon afterwards these carpet-bag financiers originated another scheme by which they had the police jury to appropriate \$32,672 for a levee to protect Coushatta.13 Twitchell and Dewees had it erected, actually expending \$19,640. The balance remained unaccouted for.

One of the most notable frauds which pictured the Senator as a self-ambitious tyrant was the court house bargain. He prevailed upon the police jury for an additional tax to construct a court house and jail.14 The amount finally collected reached about \$22,000. At the request of Captain Twitchell the contract was let to Sheriff J. F. Yates for \$16,525. The Sheriff had hardly prepared to begin the work when his political overlord threatened to have the contract nullified, and thus forced Yates to turn it over to him. Thereupon, Twitchell made a plea to the jury for additional money, so as to improve upon the building plans. That Radical clique issued \$20,000 in Parish script for his purposes; thus, he received more than \$40,000 for the court house. Sheriff Yates and others estimated that it could have been erected for not more than \$15,000.

Something worse in the way of speculation was the fact that Senator Twitchell took advantage of the geography of the town in placing the court house.15 He induced the Lisso Brothers at one end of town to outbid Captain Abney and Stephens

<sup>13</sup> Reports of Committees, 44 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. IX, No. 816, p. 707.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 14 Ibid., pp. 706-718. 15 Ibid., p. 694; Bryan, op. cit., p. 135.

at the other for the location of that building near their store. The bid added to a free will donation amounted to \$1,500, of which the Senator used \$1,000 to buy one Mrs. Carroll's preperty near Lisso Brothers' store. He took over the land but withheld half interest in his name. In return for the favor Twitchell directed all negro trade to the Lisso Brothers. That furthered the growing opposition to him, with Abney as leader of the whites.

As president of the school board of Red River Parish, Captain Twitchell again used his autocratic power to increase his wealth and prestige. Several instances of testimony before a Congressional investigating committee tend to prove that blank receipts were signed by several teachers at the threat of discharge by the president. These blanks no doubt were filled in for large amounts by Twitchell, who appropriated to himself the difference between actual payment and the salary listed on the contract. Being all powerful on the board, he ignored the rights of the remaining members and took over the employment of teachers as his prerogative. As a result several people connected with his family were hired at nice salaries and permitted to use incompetent substitute teachers for less than a third of their allowances in some cases. 17

Such frauds and usurpations continued from 1871 to 1874 with Captain M. H. Twitchell ever at the head of the Radical political ring of the parish. He had become State Senator, president of the school board, and president of the police jury. The people of the Parish, too, were ever aware of his actions, and a vindictive feeling arose among them. This man had complete control of appointments and there was never a police juror, tax collector, postmaster, or parish official of any rank but that lived under obligations to him. The Louisiana Democrat<sup>19</sup> thus described his power in local politics: "Red River Parish is the hell-born creation of Kelloggism, with the advice, consent and demands of Twitchell, his base uses, his money-stealing, and in the special interests of his family, and nowhere in Louisiana have the true people been more persecuted and crushed than

<sup>16</sup> Reports of Committees, 44 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. IX, No. 816, pp. 681, 704, 715, 717.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 693; A. F. Manghram; Mrs. Theodore Saylor; Mrs. W. A. Boylston, all of Coushatta, Louisiana, personal interviews; Louisiana Democrat, June 28, 1876.
19 May 10, 1876.

these, and nowhere have these bad importations been more insolent and rampant. Every official from its creation has been selected and appointed by them, and for a single purpose and general object, and all the time have they had full swing and an almost endless rope."

Every relative of Twitchell in Red River Parish had an office and some of them several offices.20. His brother, Homer J. Twitchell, was tax collector and treasurer of the school board. His brother-in-law, George A. King, was a member of the police jury, tax collector, and constable. Previous to 1874 he had been mayor of Coushatta. Another brother-in-law, Clark Holland, was supervisor of registration, while a third brother-in-law was justice of the peace. A relative, H. A. Scott, who lived with Twitchell, was a United States marshal. Those positions which were not filled with relatives were in charge of close and dependable friends from the North, who exploited the native citizens only to be in turn explointed by their leader.

By thorough organization of the negroes in Red River Parish in 1872 the Republicans retained all offices by overwhelming majorities.22 Hardly were they again secured in their official positions before taxes began to mount to unprecented heights. The tax affliction in Red River differed from that of Natchitoches in that it was legally raised by a technicality. There was a limit of fourteen and one-half mills on the dollar, but no law prevented a high assessment value. The assessing board used the latter method to inaugurate confiscatory rates by valuing the farm lands at forty dollars an acre, whereas in adjoining Parishes the assessed valuation never exceeded five dollars.23 Between 1872 and 1873 the assessed valuation of property practically doubled without popular consent.24

In 1873 the people massed at Coushatta and demanded that something be done to lower their taxes.25 The chairman of the assessing board, Sheriff J. T. Yates, agreed to put the valuations of property on a level with those of Caddo and Natchitoches. Upon discovering, however, that the taxes in Red River

<sup>10</sup> Reports of Committees, 44 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. IX, No. 816, passim.

ana Democrat, June 28,

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.; Louisiana Democ 24 George W. Cawthon sa 1,000, and in 1873 it was that in 1872 his home and lot in Coushatta aed at \$2,500. Ibid., p. 724.

were much higher, he refused to lower the property valuation. The citizens then appealed to M. H. Twitchell, who promised to take the matter up with the Legislature of 1874. They believed at the time that their Senator could secure almost any concession from the Assembly, and it is probable that they were right. A perusal of the Senate Journal<sup>26</sup> of 1874 shows M. H. Twitchell on a great number of the committees, and in many cases he was chairman. Yet, upon his return home the Senator pretended that it would have been useless to have considered tax revision in Red River Parish. The patiently-waiting whites now became entirely disgusted with Senator Twitchell, realizing that he was an autocrat and tyrant who meant no good for them.27 Meanwhile, the economic condition of the Parish was bad. Much land had been confiscated by tax sale. The cotton crop of 1874 proved a failure. Caterpillars destroyed the prospects of a fair yield; the people were impoverished, and many had not enought money to buy coffee. Even the wealthier families were destitute and their places under mortgage.28

Red River whites, whose votes barely numbered three hundred as compared to eleven hundred negro and Radical votes, came to an agreement early in 1874. All efforts to get desired reforms from the Republican stronghold in North Louisiana had failed. Now they undertook to win the fall election by organizing two parties, whites and blacks separately, for the one purpose of reform.29 The white leaders and some negro speakers stumped the Parish toward that end. They promised the blacks protection and reasonable favors. B. W. Marston, a candidate for the Legislature, even drew up Black Leagues to assist the reformers, but fate was against them. Senator Twitchell was a very popular leader of the negroes; he had played upon their tendencies to oppose their former masters. The blacks esteemed him as almost a God; surely they thought him a redeemer. 30 He gave them good wages while working on the levees, on farms, in the mills, and on other jobs under control of Radicals. He even appointed some to minor parish offices. Prior Porter, it will be recalled, had been appointed police juror in

<sup>26</sup> Louisiana Senate Journal, 1874.

27 Reports of Committees, 44 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. IX, No. 816, p. 678.

28 Ibid.; Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, pp. 385, 773.

30 "Uncle" Rowland, Coushatta, Louisiana; who was elected constable on the Radical ticket, personal interview.

the first year of the Parish's history. Only Twitchell's presence among them counted for much. It was this man who checked the beginnings of success which the whites accomplished with their Black Leagues in Red River. When he returned from the Legislature, he saw what was being done and set to work to prevent it. The Senator got busy and called conventions in various sections of the Parish.<sup>31</sup> The meetings were usually in the colored churches and practically secret. B. W. Marston informed the Bulletin by letter<sup>32</sup> that Twitchell's secret negro clubs" were organized to overawe and ride down the few white planters in the Parish.

Overlooking the methods used in organizing the secret negro clubs, it might be said that they had the desired effect. Many of the leaders upon whom Marston and other Democratic leaders depended almost immediately left the Black Leagues of the whites, and cast their lot as usual with the Radicals. The Senator himself later acknowledged his success in destroying the hope of the whites. He wrote the editor of the Republican that "The colored people refused to follow the leader which the democracy had chosen for them, and rejected with equal spirit the Black League platform sent them by the White League leaders. All plans for dividing the Republican party . . . (have) failed."

Now that Twitchell had spoiled their plans, T. W. Abney and other whites called a mass meeting apparently to test their strength and to view the possibilities of further work. Again, the Senator thwarted their action by calling, on the same day, July 4, 1874, a Radical convention at Black Lake, in Red River Parish.<sup>35</sup> According to Twitchell's testimony he succeeded in getting sixty white men to attend his rally. The whites massed only ninety in Coushatta.<sup>36</sup> Seemingly the results of July 4 were discouraging, for nothing more was attempted until movements in Natchitoches encouraged action.<sup>37</sup>

33 September 12, 1874.

33 Reports of Committees, 44 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. IX, No. 816, p. 676.

37 Ibid.

<sup>\$1</sup> Reports of Committees, 44 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. IX, No. 816, p. 676.

<sup>34</sup> Quoted in Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 773. Twitchell erred in referring to the white movement as "White League" that early in the campaign.

 <sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 385.
 36 Ibid. Many of the whites of the hill section near Black Lake were Republicans.

Already, on June 27, Captain T. W. Abney had gone to Natchitoches where he was partly responsible for the action of the Citizens' Reform Association, which drew up resolutions to ask Governor Kellogg to remove their offensive officers. There, too, on July 4, the Radical police jury had resigned mainly as a result of organized work of the citizens. Further, White Leagues were being formed in several Parishes. Red River with its active Democrats prepared to join the white movement. Following a previous announcement many citizens of the Parish met at the court house in Coushatta, on Wednesday, July 17. The white leaders, Captain B. W. Marston, Joseph Pierson, and Captain Abney, made "appropriate speeches," and presented the following resolutions: 40

Resolved, That we, the people of the Parish of Red River in Mass meeting assembled, do hereby express our full accord and sympathy with the uprising of the people of Louisiana, to put down that wrong, spoilation and oppression which has so long held high carnival among us; that we do hereby pledge ourselves seriously, soberly and earnestly, by every tie that binds sufferers to one common cause to maintain a complete and compact organization, until success shall crown our efforts and restore our land to peace, prosperity and happiness.

Resolved, That we wish it distinctly understood that we have no war to make upon any class of people in our State in consequence of race, color, or previous condition; but the horde of thieves, robbers and plunderers who have brought ruin, poverty, degredation and insult upon all alike, must and shall cease to rule over us; that all we ask is fair and honest dealing from officials, let their political proclivities be what they may, and such we are determined to demand and require.

Resolved, That we proceed to organize by forming clubs in each ward in the parish preparatory to the work before us; that these clubs shall be controlled by a President, Vice-President, a Secretary, and assistant Secretary; that the Presidents of these clubs together with a President to be chosen by them shall constitute a Central Executive Committee.

On motion it was resolved that the meeting now proceed to organize clubs in each ward of the Parish; that

<sup>38</sup> Bryan, op. cit., pp. 204-209.

<sup>39</sup> People's Vindicator, August 8, 1874; Chamters, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 681.
40 People's Vindicator, August 8, 1874.

the President of this meeting designate the names of two or more persons in each ward to organize clubs in their respective wards. In accordance with the above resolution the President appointed the following named persons to organize clubs in their respective wards, viz:

Ward No. 1—T. E. Paxton, Benj. Wolfson, and T. H. Hamilton.

Ward No. 2-B. C. Lee, D. M. Giddens, and Jack Guerning.

Ward No. 3—Major J. W. Sanderford, H. J. Ratcliff, Z. Holly and J. E. Murph.

Ward No. 4—B. W. Marsden, H. C. Stringfellow and Frank Wilson.

Ward No. 5—Thos. J. Jackson, P. S. Holman and A. S. B. Prior.

On motion of Joseph Pierson, Esq.

Resolved, That the persons designated to organize their respective ward clubs proceed to do so without delay.

On motion of T. W. Abney,

Resolved, That the Secretaries of this meeting be requested to furnish a copy of the proceedings of this meeting to the Shreveport Times and People's Vindicator, at Natchitoches, for publication.

On motion the meeting adjourned sine die.

C. D. BULLOCK, President,

J. F. Stephens, B. C. Lee, Secretaries.

When the wards organized, their executives elected Captain Abney President of the Executive Committee. As such he felt that he "had the right to order those (ward) clubs to do what was necessary in the premises."

Just ten days later, on July 27, T. W. Abney, Joseph Pierson and B. F. Wolfson of Coushatta were in Natchitoches at the meeting of the Citizens' Reform Association.<sup>42</sup> It was at that convention that D. H. Boullt, Sr., tax collector, was forced to resign, and the *People's Vindicator*<sup>43</sup> thanked the Red River leaders for their attendance that day. Some of the Natchitoches people told them that if they did not go back home "and clean

<sup>41</sup> Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 506.
42 People's Vindicator, August 1, 1874; Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V,
No. 261, pt. III, p. 497.
43 August 1, 1874.

out that radical stronghold of North Louisiana in Coushatta they would go and do it for them."44 Further, it is believed that Abney remarked that he was going home and try the same plans.45

Only a few days after the Natchitoches affair of July 27, Sheriff Edgerton of Red River Parish wrote M. H. Twitchell, who was again in New Orleans:46

Abney and Pierson are back from Natchitoches, and say they are for war. Pierson in a public speech says: 'We are staking all. If we win, we gain what we want; if we lose, we lose all. We have taken up our march, torn down our bridges behind us, and we cannot go back, if we would.' To the colored voters he says most emphatically: 'If you support, vote for, or attempt to sustain any republican in office, it will cost you your lives.' Expression is too strong for us to doubt their meaning. It is simply extermination of the white republican element with the black men who have the necessary ability and education to become leaders. You know how we are situated here. The colored element will support us to a man, but unless we have arms and ammunition so that we can hold out until United States troops can reach us, it would be useless to involve them in a conflict which would only be a second Colfax, . . . I shall organize a picked force of sixty colored men, but will not use them until it becomes strictly necessary to maintain peace and order. Shall first make the attempt with what white men we have, which is sufficient for this parish, but with the arrival of bat-talons from other parishes I will have to call them out. I am certain that we are on the verge of a civil war. A drunken or crazy man is liable to start it at any moment.

On Thursday, August 6, an enthusiastic and large mass meeting was held in Coushatta.47 The People's Vindicator declared it to be the largest meeting ever held in Red River Parish. The editor, J. H. Cosgrove, was

. . gratified with the results. Our sister parish has suffered in silence and tears the outrageous presence and plunder of the Carpet-bagger Twitchell and the burglar Dewees, and between the two she has been left in utter beggery.

<sup>44</sup> Reports of Committees, 48 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 385.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 497.
46 Ibid., p. 778; W. F. Howell, July 30, 1874, also wrote a similar letter to M. H. Twitchell, in New Orleans. New Orleans Times, September 4, 1874.

47 People's Vindicator, August 15, 1874.

But the hour is at hand, and in the mighty upheavel the citizens of Red River have shown themselves well worthy of the proud distinction of American freemen. Over five hundred were present and a perfect organization of the Parish was effected. . . Col. W. H. Jack, the old war horse from our parish, (Natchitoches) addressed the meeting in one of his happy and stirring efforts, and his speech was received with the utmost enthusiasm. All the Republicans in the parish, except the Carpet-bag element, and our Supreme Knight of the White Camelia, Judge Penny, who taken all in all is a very small coin, and is uncurrent with all classes; joined in the great reform movement and proclaimed themselves white men in the true sense of the word. The cant of reform, with M. H. Twitchell as its head exponent, don't go down with them, and they believe with us, all classes exist outside of the native white citizens of Louisiana.

The editor further expressed the attitude of the Coushatta rally in a part of his headline: "CAN'T SWALLOW M. H. TWITCHELL AS A REFORMER."

But in the same issue of the *People's Vindicator*, the influence of the mother Parish, Natchitoches, is further shown by the advise of that organ of the whites, which said:

Red River will win this time certain, for her people have become tired of conciliation and compromise. . . . Dewees and Twitchell and such ilk, are not the fit political associates of the gentlemen of that parish, and their motives in compromise can only be mercenary. Fellowcitizens of Red River parish stand together as one man, put an honest and capable ticket of representative white men in the field, . . . Let no power prevent you from registering and from voting, protect the colored man who is with you, from the violence of Twitchell's bummers and victory will crown your efforts. Rest assured Natchitoches will render you all the assistance within her power, and the Vindicator is ready and willing to battle for you.

Sometime between July 4 and July 29, M. H. Twitchell left Coushatta for New Orleans. The purpose of his mission soon became evident. Without troops the Senator knew he could not maintain his grasp on Red River. The White League had successfully formed in Red River as in other Parishes, officers had been forced to resign in several Parishes, and in general

<sup>48</sup> Bryan, op. cit., pp. 213-215.

there was much intimidation49 throughout July and August. It is probable that the Radicals lamented the action of the White League in forcing resignations more than anything else. New Orleans Republican, 50 main organ of the Louisiana Radicals, did all it could by spreading propaganda of murders in order to influence the National Government. That paper called several homicides that occurred in northwestern Louisiana "political murders," but it is almost a certain fact that such was not the case. Data taken from Parish records of that part of the State<sup>51</sup> show that—1868 to 1875—there were no more negroes killed by whites than of whites by negroes; and many more blacks by blacks than whites by whites. There also were few unsolved murders recorded. Furthermore, Nordhoff<sup>52</sup> gave his opinion that all homicides except these at Colfax in 1873 and at Coushatta in 1874 were non-political.

Twitchell was not the only man in Louisiana who realized the necessity of military intervention if Radical government was to be preserved. At the approach of the campaign of 1874 there was only a small number of Federal troops in the State.53 About the time that Natchitoches and others introduced the plan of forced resignations as a relief, Governor Kellogg commenced to negotiate with President Grant for the use of the United States military in the State and for additional troops to be put at his disposal for protection of his government.54 At first "Grant peremptorily refused to send any reinforcements, deciding to let Kellogg stand on his own means of defense."55 Even the President's organ, Farry's Chronicle, 56 in an editorial applauded the Executive's actions. Criticizing Kellogg for making demands for United States troops, it said, "If a popular government can be maintained it is certainly time that the majority should be able to protect themselves in the exercise of their political and civil rights, without the constant intervention of the military authorities."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, passim; Fleming, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 382; Jack Allison, Benton, Louisiana, personal interview.

<sup>50</sup> August, 1874, passim. black of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sees., Vol. V, pt. III, pp. 543,847,883; Ibd., pt. II, pp. 7, 8, 9.

52 Quoted in Lonn, op. cit., p. 325.

53 At Baton Rouge, Republican, June 17, 1874.

54 People's Vindicator, August 15, 1874; Bulletin, August 8, 1874.

55 Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Quoted in Ibid.

If W. P. Kellogg realized his critical condition, his dependents in northwestern Louisiana suspected it in a no less degree. This is shown by the Republican, which amplified their calls for help.<sup>57</sup> A letter to that paper from a Mansfield, De Soto Parish, Radical<sup>58</sup> stated that they could not hold meetings because of white interference and implored that "You must try every means to get United States troops here, for we can't do without them." These two Radicals, Kellogg and Twitchell, set to work to devise a plan by which it would be possible to get Federal help. A bona fide letter from M. H. Twitchell, in New Orleans, to Sheriff F. S. Edgerton, at Coushatta, later found among the Sheriff's papers, exposes their whole plan.59

New Orleans, La., August 4, 1874.

# I. S. Edgerton, Sheriff Parish of Red River, Louisiana:

I received your letter this morning. Have seen the governor and United States Marshall. As soon as some overt act has been committed, a United States marshall can be sent up there, and will, doubtless, take United States troops with him. I will advise you, in case of a demand is made for your resignation, to be certain first that violence is to be used in case you do not, and to save your life resign.

Natchitoches matters are not settled yet. The Governor will not allow a mob to govern the State.

#### M. H. Twitchell

Though Twitchell's exact scheme was unknown to them, the white citizens suspected that he was negotiating for State interference. 60 They cast much suspicion upon the Radical leaders of the community. More particularly did they watch those who were known to be closely connected with the Senator. Two letters written about August 20 also explain the great unrest that prevailed in Coushatta.61 Sheriff Edgerton wrote M. H. Twitchell that there were strangers in town who were drunken and threatening the lives of Republicans. Then W. F. Howell, parish attorney, informed the Senator that,

<sup>57</sup> August, 1874, passim.
58 Letter of August 24, 1874, quoted in Republican, September 2, 1874.
59 Bulletin, September 11, 1874, February 4, 1875; People's Vindicator, September 19,
1874; Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 885; Ibid., 44
Cong., 1 sess., Vol. IX, No. 816, p. 681. Sheriff Edgerbon's initia's were "F. S.".
60 Personal interviews with Jack Allison, Mrs. Theodore Saylor, and A. F. Manghram.
61 Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 773.

The excitement in this place is running very high, and in my opinion we are, as it were, on the very verge of a civil war. White League demands are out of reason. They say that without the aid of United States troops, Kellogg cannot hold the election. Strange ruffians are often in town, saying that they are here to kill republicans. I am taking the position of peacemaker, but I do not know how long it will be allowed. We may be able to avert the storm until protection can be sent here. But as sure as you return without United States troops it will commence. You and Dewees will be killed by unknown assassins. Do at once what you can, and if nothing can be done let us know at once. That you may not be deceived about the position, I tell you that it is not the fault with the adminstration of affairs here. They hardly claim it. The ability and general character of the republicans of Coushatta make it a White League necessity that they should be killed or driven out.

A matter which frightened and further enraged Louisiana whites occurred at St. Martinville about this time. Republicans of that place attempted to plot a murder of the whites. It was a plot for the negroes "to kill the inhabitants and to set fire to the residences and plantations in the parish of St. Martin. . . . The negroes were to keep for themselves the most beautiful woman and the parties who were to be killed were mentioned by name." The plot was disclosed, however, by a white Republican, and the criminals "fled the parish in hot haste." The whole affair appeared in several newspapers and was read throughout the State, no doubt having its influence upon the citizens of Louisiana.

At Coushatta, the White League never discontinued its drive toward final expulsion of the Radicals from the Parish. It is probable that they were awaiting the action and return of M. H. Twitchell from New Orleans. They were aware of the fact that all had to be made ready against any scheme which Twitchell might instigate.<sup>63</sup>

 <sup>62</sup> Courier, August 15, 1874; People's Vindicator, August 15, 1874.
 63 Mr. Allison assured the writer that the white citizens of Coushatta expected Captain Twitchell to use any method so as to place his control of Red River Parish more at ease.

## CHAPTER V

## THE COUSHATTA MASSACRE

About the first of August Sheriff F. S. Edgerton wrote M. H. Twitchell, who was then in New Orleans, that "A drunken or crazy man is liable to start . . . (a riot) at any moment." Such was the condition about a month prior to the outbreak of the Coushatta massacre.

The spark which actually set matters going apparently originated about six or eight miles below and across the river from Coushatta, in Red River Parish, at a boat-landing community named Brownsville.2 Some negroes in that vicinity had a misunderstanding with S. R. Jones and Anthony Williams, white residents. Their lives were threatened by the blacks, and Williams deemed it prudent to leave home with his family.3 That night several armed negroes went to his residence, and searched for him. They were recognized by persons living nearby. The following night, August 26, a posse of white men arrested one of the negroes. Dan Wynn; then proceeded to the residence of another, Tom Jones, to arrest and deliver him to the sheriff. As they approached the house, Tom Jones fired on them with both barrels of his gun, and killed a young white man by the name of Brotherton. This exasperated the whites and they instantly killed Tom Jones; then mortally wounded Dan Wynn.4 Negroes at Brownsville became infuriated at the murder of their two comrades, and readily made threats that they would exterminate the white race of Red River Parish, especially of the Brownsville ward.<sup>5</sup> By August 28 they had assembled and armed themselves to the number of eight hundred.

In the meantime is had been advertised widely for several days prior to August 28 that there would be a dance in Abney and Love's "new brick store" to dedicate it,6 the building being the first of that kind in the town. All the young folks of the

<sup>1</sup> Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 778; Times,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 773; Times, September 4, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> Brownsville was the shipping point on Red River near what is today Lake End.

<sup>3</sup> Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 490; Coushatta (Louisiana) Citizen, May 4, 1928; quoting Red River Watchman, September 5, 1874; Ibid., August 30, 1929, quoting Coushatta (Louisiana) Times, September 5, 1874; Shreveport (Louisiana) Journal, N. D., (About September 6, 1929) clipping quoting Coushatta Citizen, August 30, 1929; Republican, September 2, 1874; Chambers, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 687.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Coushatta Citizen, May 4, 1928, August 30, 1929 cushatta Citizen, May 4, 1928, August 30, 1929; Republican, September 2, 1874; Chambers, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 687.

<sup>6</sup> Coushatta Citisen, May 4, 1928, August 30, 1929.

6 Ibid.; Saylor, Manghram, Allison, personal interviews; Bryan, op. cit., p. 242.

neighborhood were invited and expected to attend. Late in the day rumors of armed negroes at Brownsville reached Coushatta, but there was no investigation made immediately, and preparations for the dance went on. Yet many of the men who suspected an outbreak arrived at the ball clad in rather rough, untidy clothes suggestive of trouble. Almost all of the women were kept unaware of any of the rumors. The citizens would not think of postponing the social event for it would betray their inability to meet the situation. Thus, they boldly pretended that all was unexpected.7

Whatever might have instigated the negroes to rise at Brownsville, it is a fact that other blacks were being prepared for a conflict with the whites in Coushatta on the night of the dance.8 In accordance with their hopes for an "overt act," so as to get Federal troops; and as a result of M. H. Twitchell's letter and suggestions for a disturbance, the leading Radicals devised a most diabolical plot.10 The tax collector of Red River Parish, Homer J. Twitchell—twenty-four year old brother of M. H. Twitchell—and other Radicals conspired with their negro associates. On the night of August 28 they planned to surprise the whites at the dance, massacre the men, and, after Homer Twitchell and Bob Dewees reserved their choice, the women would be given to the negroes as concubines.11

To effect their plot for an "overt act" Homer Twitchell and Dewees hired Henry Smith, colored, to arouse and work among the negroes.12 Smith worked mainly with the blacks of the opposite side of the river from Coushatta. He called on some of the leading negroes of several plantations. He persuaded them that the White League had threatened him, and if something was not done for protection, the whites would rise and murder the negroes on the night of the dance in "the new brick store." As a result of clever stories, several armed negroes arrived in Coushatta just after dark-Thursday, August 28-about the time

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>Bulletin, September 11, 1874; Coushatta Citisen, May 4, 1928.
Bulletin, September 11, 1874; February 4, 1875; People's Vindicator, September 19, 1874; Reports of Committees, 45 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 885; Ibid., 44 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. IX, No. 816, p. 681.
Bulletin, September 11, 1874; Coushatta Citisen, May 4, 1928. The plot was not discovered until after the massacre.</sup> 

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., Personal interviews.
12 Bulletin, September 11, 1874; Reports of Committees, 44 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. IX, No. 816, p. 685.

the social began. Several of them were unaware of what they were going to do in Coushatta other than that their leader, Homer Twitchell, had sent for them. When the negroes assembled at Henry Smith's he took them on to that Radical's home near the court house, just a short distance south of the store. There they met other negroes, the group numbering about twenty-five in all. They were placed beneath Twitchell's house and forced to remain in quiet and anxiety until further orders. To those who had no firearms, Henry Smith issued guns from young Twitchell's house, and a supply of ammunition was given each man.

While these negroes waited for an hour and a half or two hours under the house, Twitchell and Dewees, who apparently were invited to the dance, rode off toward the store and returned soon thereafter.<sup>14</sup> The former remained in his front yard then for some time, while the latter made several trips back and forth. After about an hour and a half or two hours, Twitchell called Henry Smith and others from their den. He told them that "the white men were too strong for them." Then he advised the blacks to disperse into the field nearby, possibly with the view of avoiding further trouble.

The dance progressed for some time with no further evidence of a mob at Brownsville, so that doubts of its existence were becoming rife. Suddenly and unexpectedly a courier, John L. Johnson, a lad of 16 dispatched by a prominent citizen of Brownsville, arrived with news that the negroes had collected at that place in great numbers. He said the mob was threatening to kill every white man in the parish and to take possession of all the property. They had even gone so far as to allot among themselves what each was to have. That news marked the end of the dance and the beginning of a rally of the whites for defense. The young ladies were conducted home, and a caucus was held by a committee of old and reliable citizens to decide upon the best method of protection. As a result they

<sup>13</sup> Reports of Committees, 44 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. IX, No. 816, p. 685. It is interesting to note that in Coushatta all Radicals lived on one street—that of the court house—called "Radical Street" by old citizens. It was there that Homer Twitchell's home was located.

14 Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Coushatta Citisen, May 4, 1928, August 30, 1929; Coushatta Times, September 5, 1874.
16 Ibid. There were various estimates of the strength of the negroes. Some were as high as eight hundred, but it is probably true that a smaller number were under arms; Caucasian, September 5, 1874, quoting Shreveport Times; Bryan, op. cit., p. 244.
17 Coushatta Citizen, August 30, 1929.

placed pickets at all points of entrance to the town, each having authority to command a halt on point of death to anyone who passed them. Couriers were dispatched in every direction to solicit aid from the adjoining Parishes. They appointed a group of old citizens, accompanied by Sheriff Edgerton and Tax Collector Dewees, of De Soto Parish, to go to Brownsville to try to pacify the negroes and to prevent outrage.18 However, that group was slow in getting away, and the Sheriff and Dewees went down ahead of the others. It is thought that they persuaded the mob to disperse, so as to make use of the occasion as political capital.19 Brownsville citizens said that the open demonstrations of the negroes suddenly ceased, and they scattered into the woods. Nevertheless, when the deputation of citizens arrived, there were no negroes to be seen.

In the meanwhile, after the dance was brought to an abrupt end, Joseph Dixon, a social favorite of the Coushatta set, and another picket rode off toward their post. They approached Homer Twitchell's home about half an hour after the band of negroes dispersed.20 As they arrived Twitchell hailed them and asked what all the bustle was about, especially among the horsemen.21 During the conversation a click of a gun trigger was heard, and, the moon being in full radiance, the two pickets noticed a small group of armed negroes just across the road inside a corn field. Ostensibly for no other cause than having been infatuated with the promises of their white leaders or inspired with hatred of the whites, who some thought were plotting to murder the blacks, Louis Johnson and Volcey Dennison, two negroes, fired on the two white pickets as they left Twitchell.22

That night (Thursday) much excitement prevailed. Fear of an attack kept the town in suspense; however, nothing serious happened until the next afternoon. Due to the proximity of Dixon and his comrade to the tax collector's residence and to the fact that the Radicals had previously made threats, suspicion pointed to him as perpetrator of the shooting.23 As a re-

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., May 4, 1928.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.
20 Coushatta Citizen, May 4, 1928, August 30, 1929; Coushatta Times, September 5, 1874;

Dulletin, September 11, 1874.

21 Coushatta Citizen, May 4, 1928, August 30, 1929; Coushatta Times, September 5, 1874;

21 Coushatta Citizen, August 30, 1929; Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol V.

No. 261, pt. III, p. 491.

22 Coushatta Citizen, May 4, 1928, August 30, 1929; Coushatta Times, September 5, 1874;

Bulletin, September 11, 1874. Bulletin, September 11, 1874.

23 Coushatta Citizen, May 4, 1928, August 30, 1929.

sult of the suspician H. J. Twitchell, Tax Collector, Sheriff F. S. Edgerton, Tax Collector Bob Dewees, of De Soto Parish, Parish Attorney W. F. Howell, Justice of the Peace M. C. Willis, Registrar Clark Holland, H. Scott, United States Marshal, and Gilbert Cone, all Radicals, were arrested.24 By four that afternoon men who responded to the call of the couriers for help had filled the town. The Shreveport Times25 said that forty men had gone from Cotton Point and a hundred from Beard's Land-Also, during the day dispatches came in from Marshall, Jefferson, and Longview, all in Texas, offering prompt assistance if needed. But a courier arrived in Shreveport to give news that the men and leaders were arrested and that there was no need for help. The Caddo men did not continue to Coushatta, but returned home. Between seven hundred and one thousand from surrounding Parishes and Texas did respond to the calls from Coushatta. The feeling of the visiting whites ran high, and there was an expressed desire for vengeance on the Radicals.

At first the prisoners were placed in the basement of a large building to which there were several entrances.26 Abney, upon being requested to protect the men, removed them to the second story of the hotel and placed a heavy guard there. On Saturday, August 30, a trial was given the accused men by a group of citizens composed of almost all the leaders of the White League of Red River Parish." Nothing was proved, but the whites from surrounding Parishes and Texas felt certain that the men were guilty and clamored for them. Hearing what went on, these men were afraid of the gathering hundreds of strangers; and it was fear of them, not Coushatta citizens, which induced the Radicals to resign.28 Abney tried to persuade Holland to remain for registration, but he decided otherwise. At least, he said, "For the present I think we had better go." After careful consideration they wrote out the following resignation:29

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.; From Marshall, Texas, news came that three hundred men were armed and ready to go; and it was believed that "if Louisiana requires help, that Texas would send 10,000 men to overthrow the Kellogg usurpation." Bulletin, September 5, 1874.

25 Quoted in Caucasian, September 5, 1874.

26 Report of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 493.

27 A comparison of the ward leaders of the White League with the citizens' committee of investigation shows the White League leaders predominant at the trial; but it is not certain that the trial was held officially under the auspices of that organization.

28 Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 493.

29 People's Vindicator, September 5, 1874.

Coushatta, La., Aug. 29, 1874.

We the undersigned officers of Red River and De Soto parishes, now residing in Red River Parish, La., testify to the following statement:

That we here propose on our part to leave the State of La., and surrender to the people the offices we hold and here request an escort of citizens to protect us out of the State. We further testify that the leading citizens of the political organization of the white people here, used all their efforts to protect our lives and discountenance and oppose the efforts of any violence toward us in any way.

R. A. Dewees, Tax Collector of De Soto, F. S. Edgerton, Sheriff Red River Parish, H. J. Twitchell, Tax Collector Red River Parish, Clark Holland, Supervisor of Registration Red River Parish and W. F. Howell.

Given under my hand and seal of office this (30th) day of Aug. 1874.

J. P. Hyams, Clerk District Court.<sup>30</sup>

The whites of Red Rived Parish believed all had ended well. Their gratitude was expressed in a report to the *People's Vindicator*:<sup>31</sup>

We the people of Red River Parish do hereby tender our neighbors and friends of our adjoining parishes our sincere and heartfelt thanks and everlasting gratitude for the prompt and efficient aid rendered us at a time when a serious riot was imminent, which we believe was only prevented by the unprecedent prompt action and determination of our friends cooperating with our true sons.

In ten or twelve hours we had a thousand brave spirits ready and determined with their lives to assist us in defending our homes, wives and children—we owe to you kind friends a deep and lasting debt of gratitude.

To the colored people we have to say that our action in the present instance must fully convince you of the sincerity of our repeated declarations that our war was only against such of you as are silly and vicious enough to combine with the horde of scallawags and carpetbaggers who, like vultures, have been preying upon our peo-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> It is interesting to note that W. F. Howell was concerned in the Colfax massacre, April 13, 1873. He was active with the whites from Montgomery, Louisiana, in helping to defeat the negroes in that Easter Sunday battle. Howell was the Parish attorney in Red River, having been brought to that parish only a few months previously by M. H. Twitchell.

<sup>31</sup> People's Vindicator, September 5, 1874.

ple for eight long years, and whose voracity seems to be insatiable. To all such we give fair warning. To those who want peace, and the redemption of Louisiana we guarantee ample protection in the future and free exercise of all their civil and political rights under the law, and we earnestly request you to go peacibly and quietly to work. Some of the bad white men who have been for years inculcating vicious ideas into the minds of the colored people of Red River and arraying them against the true interest of the country, the white people and their own, were arrested for their complicity in a cold-blooded murderous assassination upon an estimable citizen, Joseph B. Dixon. They have tendered their resignations and left this morning under a guard of our best citizens selected by themselves to depart from the State, promising never to return . . .

T. W. Abney, President Executive Committee, T. E. Paxton, G. B. Williams, J. W. Sandiford, W. A. Perry, J. Pierson, J. Lisso, L. E. Love, C. D. Bullock, J. F. Stephens, D. M. Giddens, E. W. Rawle, A. S. B. Prior, B. C. Lee, U. S. Williams, G. W. Cawthon, B. G. Kenny, J. Howard, J. P. Hyams, H. S. Bosly, Wm. Sprowe, R. D. Champion, and five hundred more.

The prisoners desired to leave on Saturday afternoon, but there were so many demonstrations by the strangers that some of the citizens prevailed upon the Radicals to wait in seclusion until the uproar settled before making their departure.32 Probably the fear of a mob or a lynching caused them to decide, however, to depart under guard early Sunday morning August 31. Meanwhile many of the whites from adjoining Parishes began their homeward journeys, thinking everything was over since the men were not definitely proven guilty.

Yet, that night (Saturday) there was no doubt plotting and planning among some of the Red River Parish citizens and some of the men from other places, who had come to help and who were not satisfied with the results of the citizens' investigation.\*\* It was their intention to prevent the escape of the hated Radicals without punishment. One "Captain Jack," alias

<sup>32</sup> Coushatta Citizen, May 4, 1928, August 30, 1929; The Coushatta Times, September

<sup>1874.

1874.

1874.

1875.</sup>F. Manghram, brother-in-law of B. C. Lee, and Mrs. Theodore Saylor are convinced that any of the acts of the massacre resulted from their own citizens; yet, the Coushatta imas, September 5, 1874, in the possession of Mrs. W. A. Boylston, Coushatta, Louisians, and the Red River Watchman, September 5, 1874, quoted in Coushatta Citizen, May 4, 1923, ttempted to throw the guilt to an unknown origin, hinting that the murderers were robably Texans.

Dick Coleman,<sup>34</sup> banded together a group who to this day are not all known. It is also most likely that these men communicated with the citizen guard before the departure of the resigned officials.35

Early Sunday morning the citizen guard, with Captain John Carr at its head, prepared to escort the prisoners to Shreveport.\* The Radicals selected their road, the one which lay through ward four. Abney, as President of the Executive Committee of the White League, issued orders to the ward four club. He commanded them to furnish aid, supplies, and other necessities to the Radicals and citizen guard while they passed through that ward. He also informed the president of that club that the safety and lives of the prisoners depended upon him.37 The Red River officials were on good, fast horses which appeared anxious to go. The captain with the guard and prisoners left Coushatta on almost a run, but after a while he ordered the company to slow its speed.38 They checked their gait and traveled some distance, but upon reaching a hilltop one of the Radicals called attention to rising dust some distance behind. Captain Carr attempted to avoid the situation by asserting that it was due to some of the guard having dropped behind. At first that was effective, but upon climbing each succeeding hill, the same cloud of dust appeared ever nearer the prisoners. At last Howell could bear it no longer and advised a quicker pace.39 His advice had no effect, for Captain Carr took advantage of the unusually warm afternoon to say that he must stop since his horse was exhausted. He then ordered a halt for rest. They had reached a point about forty miles by river above Coushatta. There they found a watermelon patch just beyond the Red River

<sup>34</sup> There was much mystery concerning the identity of "Captain Jack". All investigations, even after he murdered G. A. King and shot M. H. Twitchell's arms off in 1876, failed to prove his identity. Today, however, Manghram, Saylor, and Boylston assert that he was Dick Coleman, native of Georgia, who harbored a spirit of revenge against the Radicals which grew out of wrongs to his family back in his home State.

35 From the actions of the guard and the murderers, as told by Mary E. Bryan, op. cit., p. 315, it can clearly be seen that there was cooperation between the two companies. The author states in a footnote that her account is exactly as told by a member of the guard.

36 Coushata Citizen, May 4, 1928, August 30, 1929.

37 Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. I, p. 17.

38 Here the contemporary newspapers conflict with Mary E. Bryan, op. cit., pp. 312-314; however, it is quite likely that she is right in saying Captain Carr made no attempt to let the prisoners escape. Personal interviews with old citizens substantiate her statement. Of the Radicals originally arrested, Scott and Cone were released. T. W. Abney released Scott under cover of night, the prisoner having appealed to him as a master mason. Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 777.

Some of the guard were J. R. Carr, S. T. Friend, B. C. Lee, Henry Brown, two Hanleys, one Claffey, one Clayton, and one Allen, J. P. Hyams, and H. C. Stringfellow.

Parish line. Some dispelled their gloom and proceeded to cut watermelons.40 But Howell who happened to glance over the road they had travelled, exclaimed that men were coming with guns, and the cry to "Mount and ride for your lives" rang out. Immediately the party fell into turmoil and confusion. All mounted to run for their lives, but they had delayed too long. One of the leaders commanded the guards to "clear the track or share your fate."42 Others repeated the command; then began firing upon the fleeing Radicals. Homer Twitchell begged for a gun as he turned in his saddle, so that he might have a chance for his life; but he instantly fell dead from his running horse. Edgerton, preferring death to surrender, dashed on to the top of a hill where he leaped from his saddle dead. Dewees was also killed there.43

In the meantime Willis, Holland, and Howell had outdistanced their pursuers. They were not overtaken until a mile beyond, near a certain Ward's store,44 where they met their death. Howell, with ninety buck shot in his body, died first after begging for his life. Willis also begged for his life and denied having done anything unlawful or corrupt, but his pleas were of no avail. Holland stood by and observed the shooting of his two comrades; and when his turn came, he asked permission to say a prayer. Whereupon, he knelt and prayed silently. Arising he asked as a last favor that his wife and child in Coushatta be not harmed. Apparently his coolness had some momentary effect upon the murderers. While they paused a rider galloped up and announced a reward of \$1,000 for every Radical life saved. There was some hesitation and consideration: then several men told Holland to run into the corn field for his life, but the prisoner calmly replied no, "You have killed all my friends, now kill me."45 Thus, he calmly submitted to the same fate the other five had met. The men were so badly mutilated it is believed that no one was allowed to remove them

<sup>40</sup> Coushatta Citizen, May 4, 1928, August 30, 1929; Coushatta Times, September 5, 1874; Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 491; Bryan, op. cit., pp. 312-314.

<sup>41</sup> Bryan, op. cit., pp. 312-314.

42 Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 seas., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 494.

43 Bryan, op. cit., pp. 312-314.

44 Coushatta Citisen, August 30, 1929; Coushatta Times, September 5, 1874; Bryan, op. cit., pp. 312-314.

45 Ibid.; Allison relates this phase as though the murderers offered Holland a chance to escape should be pretend to have no knowledge of the preceding affair.

from their temporary graves for more than a week, so as to prevent any evidence from becoming known.40

Within this short time Coushatta and Red River Parish, as well as other neighboring Parishes, were practically rid of their Radical stronghold. The only thing which saved M. H. Twitchell was the fact that he was yet in New Orleans seeking troops. The sentiment of the White League and co-operationists was well expressed by the editor of the Red River Watchman, W. A. La Sauerer:47 "Their fate no one is responsible for in this parish, and though it is a sad one, their absence is a relief to the whole of its people. To M. H. Twitchell, whose villanies brought them to this alone is any blame to be attached."48

Though withholding many of the facts of the massacre, the opinion expressed was no doubt nearly correct. When the white office holders were arrested on Friday, August 29, several negro suspects were also taken.49 Homer Twitchell made certain confessions which led to their arrest for connection with the intended murder of Joseph Dixon. Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday following the massacre were occupied in ferreting out the details of the recent uprising. It was in this trial by a committee of "twelve old and intelligent citizens of the Parish"50 that the arrested negroes disclosed the Radical plot—their plan for an "overt act" by which they could get United States troops to the State and to maintain the fast weakening Radical stronghold at Coushatta. It was a plot "that makes us shudder to think of. A deed, damnable in design, and darker than hell! A plot, that, had it not been crushed in the bud, must have caused our blood and the blood of innocent women to mingle together. Babies, in their innocency, would have been slain to satiate and satisfy the dire thirst of these incarnate demons—led on by these bad leaders."51

Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. I, p. 17.
 Coushatta Citizen, May 4, 1928, reprinted from Red River Watchman, September 5,

<sup>47</sup> Coushatta Citizen, May 4, 1926, reprinted from the second second actually murdered the six Radicals. Especially did contemporary reports cover all clues—nearly all agreed that it was done by a group of Texans led by a "Captain Jack". However, some opinions very nearly exposed the correct facts, such as the Congressional investigating committee, Reports of Committees, 45 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. I, p. 18. But today such evidence as personal interviews prove "Captain Jack's" identity and the parti-ipants in the murder. Hyams, of the guard, said the slayers must have known the prisoners because they had no trouble in picking them out of the company. It is now certain that Coushatta and Red River citizens formed a large portion of the murderers' party.

49 Coushatta Times, September 5, 1874; Coushatta Citizen, August 30, 1929.

51 Coushatta Times, September 5, 1874; Coushatta Citizen, August 30, 1929.

In discussing the massacre of the six white men, the Republican press<sup>52</sup> at Coushatta said that those very men had in times past rendered the town favors. But, "To see our sisters and other innocent and defenseless women in danger displaces our friendship—obliterates our gratitude—and inserts in our heart instead -action! . . . One thing we know-our citizens have done their duty as humanity has dictated. They regret and condemn the mode of execution as much as any law-abiding citizen could. The blame cannot be laid at their doors."

White League work in Coushatta was not confined to the Radical massacre. On Sunday, August 31, Z. T. Wester, a former Confederate soldier, then a Radical Republican, met a group of Bienville Parish White Leaguers near Coushatta. Only recognition by a former Confederate comrade and a promise to desert the Radical party saved him after a consultation was held.53 Also, a negro leader of Brownsville, Allen by name, was taken from his home, and cruelly murdered. His limbs were gradually broken, and he finally was burned.54 The two negroes, Louis Johnson and Volcey Dennison, who admitted shooting Dixon, were ordered back to prison by the citizen jury. Those men hardly felt they had power to administer any punishment, but a mob took possession and lynched them. 55 All the other negroes received pardons with warnings to be more careful thereafter.

The newspapers of the State had varied comments to make on the Coushatta massacre. For some time the Republican<sup>56</sup> naturally proclaimed it an atrocious deed against men of Northern birth. The New Orleans Times, 57 a conservative Democratic organ, proclaimed the deed a "legitimate outgrowth of the violent Red River White League Organization." The editor of the Caucasian58 "always condemned it in unmeasured terms . . . . through the paper." However, other leading papers differed. The Shreveport Times 59 asserted that such an act by which citizens strike down "in blood, men of a well defined class" is proof

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.
53 Reports of Committees, 44 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. IX, No. 816, p. 690; Ibid., 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 321.
54 Allen had a name for insolence. He was a troublesome negro around Coushatta for several years, and always did his best to keep the negroes aroused. Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 321.
55 Coushatta Citizen. August 30, 1929; Coushatta Times, September 5, 1874.
56 September 1, to October 1, passim.
57 September 2, 1874.
58 Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 514.
59 Quoted in Louisiana Democrat, September 16, 1874.

enough that they are justified. That paper believed justice had been done—"that supreme and terrible justice, whose seat is in the human heart, and . . . has (been) preserved in purity in all time and ultimately wrought the downfall of tyranny." The Courier on had "no comment to make further than to state . . . (its) regret at the manner in which these men were slain. That their lives were forfeited to the community in which they lived, by reason of their conspiracy with the negroes to kill white men, women, and children there can be little doubt; but the manner of their taking off-being murdered after they had surrendered and promised to leave the country was barbarous."

The Radical Governor, Kellogg, even went so far as to offer a "reward of five thousand dollars each for such evidence as shall lead to the arrest and conviction of the said murderers, or any of them."61 In an address to the people of the Union the Committee of Seventy proclaimed the Coushatta murder as "one of those unavoidable outbreaks arising from a state of oppressive tyranny, and should be regarded in no other light."62

## CHAPTER VI

#### PARTIAL CONSERVATIVE VICTORY

The Coushatta trouble had an unexpected influence upon the history of the State. That "unfortunate affair was an immediate cause of the . . . hasty action of the General Government in ordering troops to Louisiana." Kellogg and Twitchell were in need of military support and their hopes received food in the form of the Red River outrage. The Shreveport Times,2 anticipating the coming of Federal troops as a result of the Radical overthrow in the several Parishes, spoke the spirit of the newly risen enthusiasm of the people; "If the federal government again strikes them down, then let the infamy of the deed rest upon the shameless despotism that has arisen out of

<sup>60</sup> September 12, 1874; also quoted in Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V. No. 261, pt. III, p. 879.

61 Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess, Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 776.

62 Courier, September 12, 1874.

Courier, September 12, 1874; also quoted in Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess.,
 Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 879.
 Quoted in Republican, August 13, 1874.

the malignancy and hate of the Northern people, beneath whose withering influence no sentiment of liberty can survive; under whose policy of meanness, cowardice, and hate, every community that does not worship it must be trampled in the dust, and every civilization that does not pay tribute to it blasted by its curse."

Governor Kellogg did not lose hope. He applied to President Grant for troops to be used "for the purpose of exercising a moral effect." However, Attorney General Williams replied by telegram on September 2, that the Executive's answer was "that the United States army was not intended, nor would it be used for any such object." But the Governor would not lose without an effort. On September 3 he declared martial law.5

Citizens of North Louisiana attempted by several means to prevent Grant from using troops for political purposes, thereby defeating the aims of the whites. Red River Parish issued an address declaring that no opposition existed toward the negroes. Then, the people of Caddo convened in a mass-meeting and deprecated the Coushatta affair, while the merchants of Shreveport sent a message to the President's on September 4, telling him that the state of affairs had "been misrepresented abroad," and asked to have "a commission of fair-minded men . . . appointed . . . to visit the State and ascertain the truth."

However, Grant very soon changed his attitude toward intervention. Whether he had not comprehended the gravity of the situation of his confederates in Louisiana when he refused troops for "moral effect," or whether deeds similar to the Coushatta affair in other States influenced him, is uncertain. Probably United States District Attorney J. R. Beckwith had much to do with his changed attitude.10 Whatever his motives, the Executive allowed the Secretary of War to place United States troops at the disposal of the Attorney General "for the protection of all citizens in their rights, in those localities, where out-

<sup>3</sup> Bulletin, September 3, 1874.

<sup>8</sup> Republican, September 6, 1874.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> People's Vindicator, September 5, 1874.

<sup>7</sup> Reports of Committees, 48 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 195.

<sup>8</sup> New Orleans Times, September 6, 1874.

Donn, op. cit., p. 266.

Bulletin, September 5, 1874.

rages are said to have been committed."11 On September 5, orders were "issued placing troops at New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Shreveport, Alexandria, Monroe, Harrisburg and St. Martinsville."12 The President said he had ordered troops into Louisiana because Constitutional law was violated—that persons were being interfered with "by reason of race, color or previous condition."13 But the Bulletin charged that it was "really to bolster up the corrupt Radical governments and to assist the Republican party to carry the coming elections."14 This paper declared that "the Federal Government . . . (could not) properly take cognizance until after the State officers . . . (had) exhausted all the means at their command." It condemned the President's action as political because outrages had been committed in Texas. Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi, as well as in Louisiana, Alabama, and South Carolina. Yet fall elections were to be held in only the last three states, which were the only victims of Grant's military order.15

The People's Vindicator, 16 fearful of the return of the Radical Parish officials with the advent of the militia, resented their coming, and asserted "That our minds have been long since made up, that no power on earth can continue this Kellogg fraud in rule over our people, and that we will resist to the death any force that may be applied to that end, is the fixed and unalterable determination of the people of Natchitoches parish. . . .

"... we are determined upon one of two things. Louisiana must be governed by white citizens, or that in sixty days she will be blotted from the map of free States, and a military force sufficient to conquer us shall be stationed in every neighborhood."

While such sentiments were aroused and expressed, three regiments of troops arrived in Louisiana on September 11.17 By the end of the month they were moving out to their designated posts in the State.18 Meanwhile, about two weeks after the cli-

<sup>11</sup> Caucasian. September 12, 1874.
12 People's Vindicator, September 12, 1874.
13 Bulletin, September 5, 1874.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> September 12, 1874.

September 11, 1874; Louisiana Democrat, September 9, 16, 1874. 18 Louisiana Democrat, September 30, 1874.

max of the White League action in Parochial affairs at Coushatta, there was a bloody insurrection by the New Orleans League. 19 That affair, which resulted in the complete overthrow of Kellogg's State control, even the Radicals admitted, was the second most important White League uprising.20 State officials elected on the McEnery ticket in 1872 assumed charge. Immediately several Parishes, especially in North Louisiana, followed the example set by New Orleans. Those that had not already rid themselves of the Radical officials organized and forced their resignations, while those which had already abolished Radical control answered Lieutenant (acting) Governor D. B. Penn's call to arms by organizing Parish militia.21 But the President did not stand by without taking action.22 On September 15 he ordered the de facto government to disperse within five days, and sent additional troops and warships to Louisiana. As a result Kellogg resumed control on September 19 without any opposition.

Though the White League presses saw their defeat, they did not surrender without a struggle, and condemned the Executive's action. The Shreveport Times23 boldly stated that "The President's soldiers may reinstate there the officials of fraud, but the moment the troops retire Mr. Kellogg will be expelled or killed. . . The people, driven to desperation by their wrongs and oppressions, have risen in their might, and Louisiana now must be, as we said it should be, a free State or a military camp." The People's Vindicator24 added: "We, of Louisiana, are not alarmed at your marshalling of armed hosts, her sons have faced steel and smelled powder too often to be frightened or intimidated at the display of a regiment or so of puppet soldiers. We may fail, but bear in mind that freedom shall not survive us."

Though there was yet Parochial opposition, and such papers championed its rights, the White League reached the peak of its success in early September, with the election still a month

<sup>19</sup> Bu'letin, September 15, 1874; New Orleans Times, September 15, 1874; Republican,

September 15, 1874.

September 15, 1874.

Campbell, op. cit., p. 6.

New Orleans Times, September 16, 1874; Shreveport Times, quoted in Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 seas., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 757; People's Vindicator, September 16, 1874; Shreveport Times, quoted in Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 seas., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 757; People's Vindicator, September 19, 1874; People's Vindicator, People 19, 1874; People's Vindicator, People's Vindicator, People 19, 1874; People's Vindicator, People 19, 1874; tember 19, 1874.

22 Lonn, op. cit., pp. 274-275.

23 September 16, quoted in New Orleans Times, September 21, 1874.

24 September 19, 1874.

and a half in the future. The Caucasian,<sup>25</sup> the pioneer of White League papers, could do nothing more than lament its ill success: "Poor Louisiana! her sister States can shake off the shackles that bind them to degradation and ruin, but for her there is no recovery from the living death under which she writhes." The New York Tribune,<sup>26</sup> sympathizing with the white citizens of Louisiana, stated that "General Grant has vanquished the people of Louisiana again. He has telegraphed to his generals and his admirals, he has set the army and navy in motion, and the lawful government of Louisiana surrenders. If there was any doubt before as to the character of the usurpation which rules the unhappy State by favor of the President, any question whether the people really acquiesced in it, there can be none now."

By October 10, troops of the Seventh Cavalry were stationed at Shreveport.27 On October 16, Lieutenant Donald Mc-Intosh began a march with forty-eight men as posse comitatus to Deputy Marshal Stockton, going through Caddo, De Soto, Natchitoches, and Red River Parishes. During the remainder of the month there were many acts committed by the troops which gave rise to the claim of intimidation of the native whites. October 19 a company of troops under McIntosh arrived in Natchitoches.28 They spent the next day riding about town and exposing a threatening front to the populace. On that day they arrested J. H. Cosgrove, editor of the People's Vindicator, on a charge of conspiracy and murder in the Coushatta massacre. Subsequently they arrested other prominent men on the same charge. From the action of the soldiers—"the declarations of the military, the display of the troops, and the parade" —it appeared "that the object was to intimidate the people, to spread as far as possible consternation among them. . . the marshal . . . (stated) to a number of people that he had warrants or intended to arrest two hundred people in the Parish of Natchitoches. . . there was a considerable uproar inspired by threats to arrest so many people—the riding of troops throughout the

25 September 26, 1874.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Quoted in Louisiana Democrat, September 30, 1874. <sup>27</sup> Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 164.

country and the arresting of people who were known to be innocent . . . by both parties."29

After about a week in Natchitoches some of the cavalry began to move up the Red River toward Coushatta, 30 and about the same time cavalry rode out of Shreveport to Minden and other North Louisiana towns. Between Natchitoches and Coushatta the troops made fifteen or twenty arrests. Others were having less success in De Soto Parish, where the accused fled and hid in the woods.31 At Shreveport business men were kept in fear and suspense of being arrested.32 Conflicting reports from the military authorities caused an uncertainty as to their action. In Claiborne and Lincoln Parishes troops unexpectedly arrived and arrested several of the most prominent white men just a week before the election. The soldiers and officers treated the citizen prisoners harshly, and refused to show authority for their arrests.33 Red River Parish, where the riot occurred, felt the influence of the troops more than other Parishes. As early as October 17,34 United States Deputy Marshal Stockton entered Coushatta and "an indiscriminate arrest of the citizens began." He "refused to show any authority for the arrests and they were made without warrants." To make matters worse in that neighborhood the troops that approached Coushatta from Natchitoches greatly intimidated the rural sections.35 In Coushatta Stockton arrested thirteen citizens, and aroused much fear and hatred among the native white people.36

While military activity was largely confined to North Louisiana, the Attakapas country and other sections likewise suffered from the influence of the United States army. On October 14,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 545. One witness stated, "that every morning the troops would dash out through the country, raising a monstrous dust, creating a stir, and generally speaking, come back at night as they had gone out." The Cowrier, November 7, 1874, said that "Notre informateur dit que les amis de M. Cosgrove ne peuvent communiquer avec lui. Le marshal dit qu'il a des mandats pour l'arrestation de cent autres personnes dans cette paroisse." The Caucasian, November 14, 1874, asserted that Mr. Cosgrove was in New Orleans at the time of the Coushatta affair, and that he did not return until a week after the murder.

30 New Orleans Times, October 27, 1874.

51 Ibid., October 24, 1874; Courier, November 7, 1874. "La compagnie qui est allée à Coushatta et à Natchitoches a créé une alarme générale dans la paroisse De Soto. Elle a casayé de faire des arrestations, mais les personnes qu'elle poursuivait ont été informées de son approche et elles ont fui dans les bois."

31 New Orleans Times, October 21, 22, 23, 24, 1874.

33 Ibid., October 27, 1874. "When (James) Huey asked for the authority for his arrest, Lieut. (H. B.) Hodgson, in charge of the cavalry, drew a repeater, saying, "This is my authority."

34 People's Vindicator, October 24, 1874.

People's Vindicator, October 24, 1874.
 People's Vindicator, October 24, 1874.
 New Orleans Times, October 27, 1874; Caucasian, October 31, 1874, quoting Shreveport Times.

36 Caucasian, October 31, 1874; Bryan, op. cit., pp. 331-332.

ten members of the Republican committee of St. Martin Parish telegraphed State authorities that "If there is no cavalry sent immediately, we can have no fair registration. If we have no fair registration, not a single Republican vote will be cast at this election."37 As a result a detachment of the Seventh United States Cavalry went to that section. As in North Louisiana the people of St. Martinsville, New Iberia, Franklin, and other towns of St. Mary, Iberia, and St. Martin Parishes were in constant fear and dread of arrest at the hands of the military.38 On October 22, several leading citizens at St. Martinsville were arrested, and warrants were held for the arrest of Colonel Alcibiades De Blanc, General Declouet, Colonel Fournet, and other prominent White Leaguers. A detachment of the Third Infantry arrived in Alexandria on October 10, and remained there until after the election. 39 The Louisiana Democrat, foreseeing the election conditions, pleaded with the people to go to the polls in November despite presence of troops "at every Precinct." 40

Thus, within a month and a half the presence of hostile troops, stationed among the people following Grant's orders, shattered the efforts and hope of the White League. The Caucasian41 described the work of the soldiers as "intimidation, in the interest of radicalism, in the interest of political robbery, and designed to vindicate the infamous action of President Grant in setting up the Kellogg usurpation." Hopes of the White League were transformed into hopes for the Radicals in the approaching State election. Their aims were thwarted by "intimidation of the white people of a large portion of our State by the use of the military and the processes of the United States courts, warrants being carried into the country in blank, and being there filled up and irruptions of United States cavalry and dragoons at different points, visiting the polls on election day, and stating in loud tones, accompanied by threats, that they had warrants for numbers of people."42

The Radical Attorney General of the State commented on the arrests of the White Leaguers: "The scare may have a good

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> New Orleans Times, October 15, 1874.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., October 21, 23, 28, 1874.

<sup>39</sup> Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, pp. 605-606;

Louisiana Democrat, October 28, 1874.

<sup>40</sup> Louisiana Democrat, October 28, 1874.

<sup>41</sup> October 31, 1874.

<sup>42</sup> Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, p. 4.

effect. I don't care to contradict it."43 Nordhoff44 wrote: "As to 'intimidation', it is a serious mistake to imagine this exclusively a Democratic proceeding in the South. . . The Federal United States marshal in Louisiana has used cavalry to intimidate Democrats." The Caucasian made the situation plain when it said, "The present condition of North Louisiana differs from a state of actual war only in one circumstance, that one side is passive and entirely passive, while the other is all aggressive."

The interference of the Federal troops in Louisiana affairs doubtless altered an eventual success for the White League at the polls on November 2. Their rough treatment of citizens and presence at many polls prevented the Leguers from openly carrying out their desired plans. Yet, the work of the whites had so far advanced that generally they carried the election.46 But the Radical Returning Board, notwithstanding the presence of United States troops to keep order, promulgated a different return.47 They claimed, in their report, in almost all cases rejected, that intimidation existed at the polls.48 Of eleven Parishes from which the Board rejected the returns, they proclaimed nine invalid as results of white intimidation of negroes. Of these eight, Jackson, Grant, Caddo, Bienville, Lincoln, Natchitoches, Red River, and Rapides, were rejected in whole or in part because of their supposed intimidation resulting from the Colfax riot of 1873, the White League massacre at Coushatta, August 31, 1874, or their proximity to those places of trouble. Naturally, since the Radical Returning Board had absolute power to determine the results, the White League candidates were counted out in those Parishes without any possible legal redress.49

Though the whites were apparently defeated by having the majority of the Legislature and the State Treasurer returned from the Radical ranks, they did not accept defeat without an effort. The People's candidates who were counted out by the board as well as those Republicans who were declared elected,50

<sup>43</sup> New Orleans Times, October 10, 1874.
44 Quoted in Fleming, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 89-90.
45 October 31, 1874.
46 Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sees., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. III, pp. 785-787.
47 Ibid., Lonn, op. cit., p. 289; Report of Returning Board, passim.
48 Report of Returning Board, passim.
49 Ibid., p. 1. It is significant to note that all four members of the Returning Board o signed the final report were Radicals or affiliated with them. They were J. Madison ills. President, Themas C. Anderson, Louis M. Kenner, and G. Cassanave—a negro.
50 Lonn, op. cit., pp. 294-295. .2 .7 .1101 10

arrived and prepared to take their seats in the new Legislature. By January 4, 1875, much excitement prevailed, and there were many threats that the Leaguers would use force to seat its members, but General De Trobriand used his military authority to expel the People's candidates. 51

Meanwhile, Congress appointed a select committee on December 9, 1874.52 to investigate conditions in Louisiana. It was this committee which enabled Louisiana to get the first favorable Congressional consideration since the Radicals gained control in 1867. It made a thorough investigation of Louisiana affairs, especially in regard to White League work.53 Though the majority made a report favorable to Kellogg's Government, the minority, after pronouncing the activities of the Returning Board arbitrary, unfair, and without warrant of law, reported two resolutions of importance:54

> Resolved, That it is recommended to the house of representatives of Louisiana to take immediate steps to remedy said injustice and to place the persons rightfully entitled in their seats.

> Resolved, That William Pitt Kellogg be recognized as the governor of the State of Louisiana until the end of the term of office fixed by the constitution of that State.

By putting the substance of these resolutions into the form of the Wheeler Compromise, 55 Congress left Louisiana with Kellogg as Governor, a Republican Senate, and a Conservative or People's majority in the Lower House. Though the divided Legislature and Governor were not destined for harmonious work, they did at least have Congressional sanction for their existence; and at last the whites were partially successful in their renewed drive for enlightened State government. The Radical leaders for the first time began to open their eyes to the realization that they were in danger of a waning Congressional support. 56 So, as "The Massacre of 1866 led to reconstruction," 57 the Coushatta massacre resulted in partial return of white influence.

<sup>51</sup> Campbell, op. cit., p. 8.
52 New Orleans Times, December 13, 1874.
53 Reports of Committees, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. V, No. 261, pt. I, II, III.
54 Ibid., pt. I, p. 5; Congressional Record, 43 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. III, pt. II, p. 1647.
Both, majority and minority, reports are given, pp. 1646-1652.
55 Fleming, op. cit., Vol II, pp. 157-160.
56 Campbell, op. cit., passim.
57 Ibid., p. 9.

#### SUMMARY

Race riots between 1866 and 1874 had notable influence upon the reconstruction of Louisiana. The New Orleans affray in 1866 enabled Congress finally to assume control of the "rebel" States, until then administered by the President. Once the Radicals acquired power, their agents and confederates lost no time in working a politico-social revolution.

After 1868, when a new constitution and State government became effective, blacks and carpet-baggers were masters of Louisiana. Conservative whites bore the evils of their opponents without resistance for only a short while. As the Presidential election of 1868 approached, the Knights of the White Camelia, Innocents, Seymour and Blair societies, and their ilk used characteristic intimidatory methods throughout the State. However successful they were, clashes of significance occurred in New Orleans, St. Landry, St. Bernard, and Bossier Parishes. Their effects were temporarily favorable, the whites carrying the election by a large majority. But success was short-lived. Grant's victory enabled the Radicals to continue their pillage, and Congress, taking advantage of the occasion offered by organized white intimidation, passed the Enforcement and Ku Klux Acts.

Their plans and activities having resulted in Federal intervention, after 1868 the Conservatives rarely opposed H. C. Warmoth, Governor and Radical leader in Louisiana. The whites even went so far as to offer concessions to the negroes in return for their support in the elections of 1870 and 1872, but the Republicans withstood the new opposition despite inroads made upon their strength. However, the contest for Governor in 1872 was so close that it required belated intervention by a United States judge to save the Radicals.

Autocratic control of the State from Governor to constables by a few white adventurers, ever-increasing taxes, astounding financial frauds—to say little of the negroes' desire for social equality—reached their peak under W. P. Kellogg in amazingly quick time. Again the whites with the hope of local liberation and defeat for the Radicals in the Congressional election of 1874, realized a necessity to cooperate. A final effort, stronger and more united than those preceding it, arose in March and

April. Citizens of various localities, particularly in the Atta-kapas and the Red river regions, organized the White League. Their aims were set forth in published resolutions and the Republicans were repeatedly warned that their administration neared its end. Newspapers lent their whole support to the movement, and encouraged the League by their assertiveness. Finally, Natchitoches Parish set the example for others by forcing its judge, district judge, police jury, and tax collector—all Radicals—to resign and flee the country. Soon other Parishes fell in line, and the White League appeared to be working.

Notwithstanding their accomplishments the whites met with much opposition; and the Republicans did not resign without a struggle. It was in Red River, where the Radical stronghold of North Louisiana existed, that intimidatory acts reached their climax two months prior to the election. M. H. Twitchell, the autocrat of the Parish, realizing that troops were necessary if his power were to continue, connived with his associates for an "overt act," so as to permit the Governor to secure Federal assistance. The riot instigated by those men was nipped in the bud, and a diabolical plot was disclosed. Due to the White League strength in North Louisiana, hundreds of men answered the call of distress from Coushatta. They were not appeased with the resignation of the guilty men, and nothing short of outright massacre satisfied them. The horrible murder attracted nation-wide attention and much condemnation.

For some time it appeared that the Louisianans again had subjected themselves to Radical authority. The President, influenced by political friends, supplied Kellogg with military, while a White League battle in New Orleans fifteen days later provided ground for further Executive intervention. The troops, which arrived in the State a month prior to the November election, so intimidated whites and prevented white League activities that the returns were barely in favor of the white people. The all-powerful Radical Returning Board employed intimidation as a result of the Coushatta and Colfax massacres to promulgate a Republican victory.

Congress in December, 1874, appointed a committee whose investigation resulted in the Wheeler Compromise, a victory for

Louisiana Conservatives. It was a victory in that the National Government for the first time since 1867 considered their appeals; the citizens readily agreed to recognize a Radical Senate and Kellogg as Governor in return for a white Lower House. Though the Conservatives themselves were to repudiate the agreement, it must be admitted that whereas "The Massacre of 1866 led to reconstruction," the Coushatta riot brought a return of white influence in Louisiana.

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# RECORDS OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF LOUISIANA LXIV.

June-September, 1747. (Continued from April, 1935, Quarterly)

BY HELOISE H. CRUZAT Marginal Notes by Walter Prichard

# By the Editor of the Quarterly

List of Officials of Louisiana participating in the work of the Superior Council of Louisiana contained in this installment:

de Vaudreuil, Pierre Rigaud Cavagnol, Governor

Le Normant, Sebastian Francois Ange, First Judge and Commissaire Ordonnateur

Henry, Nicolas, Clerk of the Superior Council and Notary

Chantalou, Augustin, Sheriff Lenormand, Marin, Deputy Sheriff

De Benac, Etienne, Town Major of New Orleans

Raguet, Jean Baptiste, Councillor, also acting as Procureur General

Prevost, Jean Baptiste, Agent of the Company of the Indies Lafreniere, Nicolas Chauvin de, Councillor

Prat, Jean, Councillor Le Bretton, Louis Cesaire, Councillor

De Noyan, Gilles Augustin Payen, Lieutenant of the King

Barbin, Nicolas, Attorney of Vacant Estates

Potin, Bernard Louis, Notary at Pointe Coupée

Chanfret, Claude Trenaunay, Comandant at Pointe Coupée Cantrelle, Jacques, an employee Salmon, Edme Gatien de, Judge

June 6, 1747. 29450. E. 4390. 4 pp.

Marriage contract drawn up at Pointe Coupée. Marriage Contract passed before Notary Royal of Pointe Coupée, appointed ad hoc by Mr. Trenaunat Chanfret, subdelegate at said Post, between Antoine Sarrazin, son of Nicolas Sarrazin and Anne Rolland, on one part, and Marie Cotton, widow of Jean Rondot, a native of Larbe, Bishopric

of Grenoble.

Signed: Sarazin; pontalba; Roquancourt; Carecancour; Maieux; Rivard; Balguet; Potin, notary.

Document badly stained, with torn and curled edges.

(May 6.) June 7. 1½ pp.

Decision of Superior Council in case of Jacques Love called Bellomé.

Notice served on Gaspard Bellomé, regarding above decision. Excerpt from Registers of Superior Council, giving decision of Council in the case of Jacques Love called Bellomé, married to Marie Jomard, widow of Antoine Love.

Signed: By the Council.

June 7, 1747—Notice served on Sr. Gaspard Bellomé, tailor, at his domicile in New Orleans, on demand of Jacques Love, soldier of Mr. Leverrier's Company, residing at the Barracks of this City.

Signed: Lenormand.

June 9. 29463, 4391.

Exchange of slaves between Loise and Germain. Exchange of Slaves, between Jean Baptiste Loise and Pierre Germain, Loise giving a negro called Louis for a savagess named Charlotte, owned by Pierre Germain. Loise has acknowledged that the said negro has been delivered to him, and Germain that the savagess has been turned over to him;

said parties have declared that they cannot write nor sign and have made their mark in the presence of witnesses.

Mark of JB Loise. Mark of Pre Germain. Roblot Taimoint; Cuney lemorst; Cappetemoz. Document water stained, with ragged edges.

June 9. 29464. 4392. 1 p.

Sale of a small tract of land in Pointe Coupée.

June 10. 4393.

No. 127, 29465.

Petition of the Procureur General in regard to the inventory of the effects of Widow Philippe Chauvin, recently deceased. Act of Sale, passed at Pointe Coupée, of one arpent of land six feet in depth, facing River, by Francois Gerard and his wife to Sr. Brouillard, for the sum of fifty-five piastres, paid cash.

Signed: Gerard; Marie Asseline; fr Gervais; Motais; temoin.

Succession of Marie Anne Danis, Widow of Philippe Chauvin Joyeuse.

Petition by Mr. Raguet, acting as Procureur General of the King, stating that he has been notified of the death of the Widow of Sr. Philippe Chauvin, and that though she has left no goods worth being sealed and inventoried, it would be suitable to list and describe the clothes and apparel for her use in the house where she died, as she

leaves four children: Two with her brothers in Illinois, and two other minors in this City. Councillor Nicolas Chauvin de Lafreniere, Councillor on this case, accompanied by M. Raguet and the clerk of the Council, went to her house where Marianne Chauvin, her daughter, affirmed that nothing had been carried away nor secreted.

The list of articles found at the house List of articles left includes kitchenware, bedding, a chest, the by the deceased, found at her house. contents of which were remitted to the daughter to make clothes for the children, papers, statement of debts of deceased, etc., the whole left in charge of Sr. Chantalou. Moreover there is a young negro, aged twelve or thirteen, now ill with the prevailing sickness, measles.

Signed: Chatalou; Lafreniere; Raguet.

29483.

Discharge to Sr. Chantalou.

Discharge to Sr. Chantalou, who has produced the effects intrusted to him. Signed: Lafreniere.

29471.

Marriage contract of Philippe Chauvin and Delle Marianne Danis.

June 28, 1747. Papers belonging to succession of Widow Chauvin:

April 28, 1734. Marriage contract of Philippe Chauvin, son of Jules Chauvin and Angelique Derounray, a native of Mon-

treal, Canada, with Delle Marianne Danis, daughter of Charles Danis and Dorothee Mesciouerata, a native of the Parish of Notre Dame of Kaskaskias, province of Louisiana. This is a collated copy signed by Jerome, notary. Sr. Louis Chauvin, brother of the groom, was present and the mother and stepfather (Sr. Turpin) of the bride.

29470.

Receipt for Rent.

July 1, 1747. Receipt to Madame Joyeuse (Chauvin) for four months' rent, at 18 livres and two hens, the sum of 72 livres and 20 sols. Signed: La Veuve Beaupré.

29475.

Letter regarding money due deceased from succession.

Letter, dated March 14, 1747, written to Madame Joyeuse by Charleville, announcing that he has 1400 livres to remit to her from succession.

28479. 2½ pp.

Sale of effects of Widow Chauvin.

July 1, 1747. Sale of Effects of succession of Widow Chauvin Joyeuse, returns amounting to 240 livres, which were turned over to Sr. Lafreniere.

Signed: Lafreniere: Chantalou: Raguet.

28478. Debt statement.

Statement of debts of the above succession, amounting to 20 livres 3 sols.

June 11. 29485. 4394. fo. 2. 21/2 pp. Procuration granted before Notary Royal of Louisiana by Jean Etienne Layssard to St. Bernard Grangent to withdraw from sucProcuration by Layasard for the recovery of goods consigned to one Vivier of Cap Francois, now deceased, or fer collection of the value thereof. cession of deceased Vivier of the Cape (Cap Francois) liquors and panes of glass furnished on order of said Vivier, as accompanying vouchers prove. Having no news from said Grangent, nor answers to various communications, he revokes power of at-

torney granted to said Grangent, transferring to attorney to be hereafter named, whom he authorizes to demand account of Grangent of said consignment and also of that sent to France, allowed by MM. Monrepos, Layssard, Laine, as accompanying vouchers will prove; to demand return of all effects sent or their value, and of papers sent to him; and if he can obtain no satisfaction, to apply to the Procureur of Vacant Estates or heirs for said return, or value thereof, by this present annulling procuration given Grangent, intending that this last procuration only shall be legal until revocation of same.

Signed: Layssard Freres; Chantalou; Henry. Document charred.

June 12. No. 5. 2½ pp. N. P.

Letter regarding a business transaction of Louis Langlois. Letter from Louis Langlois, informing his correspondent that M. Berte'le has returned the notes which he forwards to him by Sr. Bienvenu. Mr. de Gruise has offered one hundred minots of salt which he refused, assuring him that had he offered money or flour he would have accepted it.

De Gruise has sent a pirogue by Gadoua.

Signed: Louis Langlois.

June 16. 2 pp.

Petition for citation of Dubreuil, Jr., for payment of two notes due to DeMontandan. Petition by Pierre Frederick de Montandan, officer in the Swiss Regiment of Karrer, or citation of Dubreuil, Jr., for payment of two notes amounting to 8062 livres, due since several years, and costs of Court.

Signed: Demontandan. (Repeated demand.)

May 20, 1747. Following petition of de Montandan, residing at inn of Megret, notice of citation served on Sr. Dubreuil, Jr., to appear before Council. Signed: Lenormand.

Second notice served.

June 16, 1747. Second notice of citation before Council served on Sr. Dubreuil, eldest son. Militia Officer. at his domicile in his father's house, to appear in the Council Chamber on the following Saturday at nine A. M. Signed: Lenormand.

Slip.

Receipt.

Certificate by Fr. Charles, Capuchin Superior, that he received full payment for share in the Crassine sold to him by the Mission. (1745, June 23.)

June 24. 2 pp.

Petition of Dubreuil for collection of a debt from Bellomé. Petition to Superior Council by Joseph Villars Dubreuil, for citation of Gaspard Bellomé to compel him to pay the said Villars a debt of 4039 livres, 11 sols, 8 deniers, interest thereon and costs of Court.

Signed: Dubreuil.

Citation of Bellomé.

June 24, 1747. Order to cite Bellomé. Signed: Raguet.

Notice of citation

June 27, 1747. Notice of citation before Council at its next cession served on Gas-

pard Bellomé, following petition of Joseph Villars Dubreuil. Signed: Lenormand.

June 26.

29489. 4395.

Report in Registry of death of two slaves belonging to a succession. Report in Registry by Sr. Piot de Launay, who married Robert Avart's widow, of the death of two slaves of the succession of deceased Robert Avart, of the prevailing sickness (measles). One was a man of fifty, and the other an Indian slave aged nine.

Signed: DeLaunay; Henry Greff.

June 26.

29490 fo. 2. 4396.

Judicial investigation of the case of a negro slave of Bellile who had hung himself in one of Dubreuil's negro cabins. Visit Made by Officers of Justice, ordered by Mr. Lenormant, Commissioner of the Marine, on report of Sieur Dubreuil, that a negro owned by Mr. Bellile had hung himself in one of his negro cabins. Those present were: Mr. Raguet (who was then acting as Procureur General), on whose demand the visit was ordered, Louis Cezard le Bretton, Councillor Assessor, the Clerk

of the Superior Council, Sr. Guedon, Surgeon Major of the troops of this place, and Sr. Godeau (probably Goudeau), second surgeon. The corpse was already in a state of decomposition, and to avoid an increase of the sickness which is at this plantation and in the City, a grave was dug for him on the river bank.

Signed: Le Bretton; Raguet; Dubreuil pere; Dubreuil fils;

Henry Greff.

June 26. 29492. 1 p.

Report of inquest on body of above negro suicide.

Report by Surgeons of the King's Hospital on inquest made on corpse of a negro owned by Mr. Bellile who hung himself in a negro cabin on Mr. Dubreuil's property. Signed: gueydon; F. Goudeau.

29493.

Official request for visit to the negro quarters where above suicide occurred. June 26, 1747. Petiton to Superior Council by J. B. Raguet, acting as Procureur General of the King, requesting that a visit be made to Mr. Dubreuil's negro quarters where a negro hung himself. Signed: Raguet.

29493.

Order to Chief Surgeon to examine corpse of above negro suicide. June 26, 1747. Order to Chief Surgeon to examine the corpse before witnesses, to draw up process verbal thereon, and to present it to whom it may concern. Signed: Lenormant.

June 28.

29495. 4 pp.

Declaration of Louis Glachant, soldier, es to his parentage and past life, and demand for certificate as to these facts. Declaration before Louis Cezard Le Bretton, Secretary of the Marine, and the Greffier of the Superior Council, by Louis Glachant, soldier of Mr. Dorgon's Marine Company, who after oath taken to speak the truth, gave all information necessary to identify himself. He is a native of Abbeville, Parish of St. Wussfrau, in which the

Church is built; the Curé who built said Church is called M. Le Vasseur, who was since Curé at the Holy Sepulchre. He states that his father's name is John Glachant and his mother's Marguerite Morer, and that both are dead, his mother being interred in said Church. His godfather, Mr. de Brassigny, Lord of St. Achant, is still living, and his godmother who sold goods, is now living on her revenue, etc. He speaks of his schoolmaster, his comrades, and what he has done since he left his home until he took service with Mr. de Macarty, an officer of this Colony, who was lodging at the Hotel de Normandie in 1737. He demanded that certificate be given of his account of himself, which was done in the presence of Captain Gregoire Volant, commanding the fourth company of the Swiss Regiment, and of Mr. d'Erneville, Captain of Marine troops.

Signed: Louis glachant de Larmee; Volant; Henry notary.

June 28. 2 pp.

Petition for removal of a dilapidated house built on property line, or that owner be held liable for ensuing damages to the property of the complainant. Petition to Superior Council by Jean Baptiste Le Gros, complaining that his neighbor's dilapidated building is on the line between their adjoining lots, and that said Bourbon's property drains on his lot. He therefore prays that Council order Bourbon to move his house away from the line or to sign certificate that he will hold himself

responsible for damage ensuing, that he make necessary repairs to fence, and that costs be borne by said Bourbon.

Signed: Le Gros.

June 28, 1747. Citation of Bourbon. Signed: Lenormant.

Notice of service of citation.

June 28, 1747. Notice of citation served on Sr. Bourbon, on date of September 22, 1747, by Sheriff Lenormand.

Certificate by De Bat as to the truth of claims made by Le Gros against Bourbon, as stated above.

Inclosed in above document, dated June 24, 1747. Certificate signed by De Bat, that Sr. Bourbon's house is built on the boundary line of Sr. Legros and is damag-

ing his property, and draining on his land. It is therefore requested that Sr. Bourbon make all necessary repairs, and replace bricks missing on his side.

Signed: De Bat.

De'ense of Bourbon against claims and demands of Le Gros.

October 1, 1747. Defense of Sr. Bourbon, refusing to sign certificate and asking that commissioners be appointed to look into this matter and make a faithful report, and that Sr. Le Gros' complaint be thrown out of Court.

Signed: Bourbon.

July 1.

No. 1107.

Members present at session of the Superior Council.

cureur General.

Session of the Superior Council of July 1, 1747, where were present MM. de Vaudreuil, Governor; Le Normant, First Councillor; de Benac, Major; de la Freniere, Councillor; Le Bretton, Councillor Assessor; Mr. Raguet, Councillor, acting as Pro-Judgments rendered in the following cases:

Marigny vs. Broutin and his wife.

1. Sr. de Marigny, plaintiff, vs. Sr. Ignace Broutin, with Delle Mgde Le Maire, his wife, defendant. The Council has certified respective demands of both parties, contained in their petitions, and orders that papers be retained; however, condemning Sr. Broutin, defendant, to provide the thousand livres demanded for account of partition (division). Costs reserved.

2. Sr. Pierre Frederic de Montandon, De Montandon vs. Du Breuil, Jr. plaintiff, vs. Sr. Du Breuil, the eldest son, defendant. Council orders that defendant be cited again before the Council at its next session. Costs pending.

Du Breuil, Sr. vs. Gaspard Bellomé.

3. Sr. Du Breuil, the father, plaintiff, vs. Sr. Gaspard Bellomé, defendant. Council orders defendant to pay 4039 livres, 11 sols, 8 deniers, as per account settled December 30, 1745, and to

pay costs.

Jacques Love vs. Gaspard Bellomé. 4. Sr. Jacques Love, plaintiff, vs. Gaspard Bellomé, defendant. Council orders that a Curator be elected. Costs pending.

Capr ise Mathieu vs. Gerard Pery.

Sr. Capraise Mathieu, plaintiff, vs.
 Sr. Gerard Pery, as executor, defendant.
 Council has certified his demand, and in de-

fault of other titles has nonsuited him in his complaint against Sr. Pery. Council orders that Baptiste, Indian, and Marianne, both slaves, be sold, and returns thereon to be deposited in Registry until ordered what shall appertain.

July 1. 8 pp.

Duplicate of Judgments Rendered by Superior Council on July 1, 1747:

Antoine de Marigny vs. Ignace Broutin.

1. Antoine Philipe de Marigny, Officer, son of deceased Francois de Hautmenil de

Marigny, Ecuyer Sieur de Mandeville, and of Delle Magdeleine Lemaire, now married to Broutin, Engineer of the King. Said Antoine de Marigny has attained his majority, and decree of Council of June 15 and 16, 1747, gave him the right to administrate his goods and invest his funds in order to increase them. Broutin is ordered to render account to his stepson of succession of his father and to provide for him in the meanwhile, all expense to be charged to account of succession.

Montandon vs.

Du Breuil, Jr.

Sr. Pierre Frederic de Montandon vs.

Sr. Du Breuil, the eldest son. Council orders Du Breuil to pay his two notes dated August 24, 1743.

Du Breuil, Sr.
vs. Bellomé.

3. Sr. Du Breuil, Sr., plaintiff, vs. Gaspard Bellomé, defendant. Council orders Bellomé to pay 4039 livres, 11 sols, 8 deniers, and costs.

4. Jacques Loss (or Love), minor son of Antoine Love, and Francoise, now wife of Gaspard Bellomé, plaintiff. vs. Gaspard Bellomé, defendant. Council orders Bellomé to render account to Love of goods of his deceased parents. Costs pending.

Mathieu vs. Pery as evecutor of Descairse and Pery, as executor of succession of Calixte Descairac. Sr. Pery is sentenced, under penalty of bodily apprehension, to remit, without delay, the sum of 9083 livres, 10 sols, without further notice, and two slaves, Baptiste and Marianne, on the offer made by Mathieu to furnish good and sufficient bond whilst awaiting provision; said Pery is sentenced to pay a fine of 30 livres for benefit of the Hospital of the Poor, for disobedience, and is cited to appear before Superior Council at its next session, in default of which he will be appre-

hended, considering the decrees of the sixth and twelfth of said month, notice of which was served on him by Sheriff Lenormand. The aforesaid slaves belonged to one Neborett, not to Descairac succession, but were left as security to said deceased Descairac, for a debt due him, by virtue of which said Mathieu claims the two slaves for the heirs of said deceased Descairac. The Council has given certificate to Capraise Mathieu of his proceedings, and in default of other proofs has nonsuited him of his demand against Sr. Pery, and orders that the slaves, Baptiste and Marianne, Indian and half-breed, be sold in the customary way in the presence of the Procureur General and the returns of the sale deposited in the Registry until ordered what is just. Costs compensated.

July 1. 51/2 pp.

Decision in suit of Antoine de Marigny vs. Ignace Broutin, his stepfather and tutor. (Case continued in August, September, and October records.) Judgment Rendered in suit of Antoine Philippe de Marigny vs. Ignace Broutin, his stepfather, engineer of the King, as married to Madeliene Le Maire, widow Marigny. Council orders that Antoine de Marigny, having reached his majority since last June, and being able to administrate his goods, and increase them to his benefit, be

put in possession of his share of said succession. He claims moreover the acquets and purchases made since his father's death to this day, maintaining that the first community has continued up to date, as the inventory made at the time was not according to prescribed formalities, in not having elected a subrogate tutor, a legitimate conditon for the good of the minors. Sieur Broutin shall render account of the sale of movables after decease of Sr. De Mandeville, on returns on revenues, rents of houses, which they have received since then, including acquets and common purchases of movables and immovables made since said decease, and to produce all vouchers. Sr. Broutin, as defendant, is sentenced to pay him a pension suitable to his condition. He shows that Sr. Broutin wishes to defend this community by the fact that it is not his fault if a subrogate tutor was not elected. The Council has given certificate of their demand to the parties, and orders that the papers remain on the table. However, it orders Sr. Broutin, as defendant, to provide the sum of 1000 livres on account of said claims, costs being reserved. Signed: By the Council. Henry (paraph) Greff.

July 5, 1747. Notice of foregoing decree served on Mr. Broutin, Engineer, at his domicile, speaking to him personally, on demand of Sr. Antoine Philippe de Marigny de Mandeville, Marine Officer, residing at the Barracks, by Marin Lenormand.

July 3. 29499. fo. 2. 4398. 1 p.

Sale of a negro slave for 700 livres.

Sale of a Negro Slave by Marianne Giraudon, Widow of Louis Viger, now wife of Jean Moreau, separated in goods, to Pierre Clermont, her son-in-law. The negro named La Fleue was sold for the sum of 700 livres. Signed: Marianne girodon, veuve Viger; Chantalou; Lenormand; Henry. Document in good condition.

July 4, 29500. 4399. 2½ pp.

House in New Orleans leased for 400 livres for one year.

Rent Lease of a house in New Orleans, one story high, with galleries in front and rear, by Nicolas Judice, as tutor of his nephew Louis Judice, for one year, for 400 livres, in piastres of five livres each, on clauses and conditions mentioned. Lessee was Pierre Vautier.

Signed: pierre vautier; nicolas Judice. Document charred and partly eaten through.

July 6. 30503.

4400. 1 p.

Obligation in solido executed in payment for merchandise. Obligation in Solido by Charles Dauteuil and Joseph Pelletier, to pay to M. Ancelain the sum of 180 piastres due for merchandise furnished by above merchant for their trade and for hunting. In the event of the decease of one of the partners, the other holds himself responsible for said debt.

Signed: Dauteuille; Daniel Hubert (who signed for Joseph Pelletier); J. B. Garic witness; Cuez.

Document mutilated and in ribbons on right margin and lower end.

July 7. 4401.

Succession of Widow Duranton. Succession of Widow Duranton, (Listed as No. 104, and thus indexed on the front page; but the first document is dated June 30, and the following ones July 1 and July

7; pagination: 30504, 30508, 30512, which does not correspond to dates of documents.)

30512. 1 p.

Official notice of the death of Widow Duranton.

June 30, 1747. Notice given by M. Raguet of death of Widow Duranton, in a cabin on Mr. Du Breuil's plantation, which had been given her through charity, where she left some old clothes and old furniture,

of which he requests that description be made in the form of an inventory, in the presence of the "Curator of Vacant Estates, who will remain charged with same until ordered thereon. The effects are now under the care of the negress whom Mr. Du Breuil had sent to nurse her during her illness. Signed: Raguet.

Order to do as petitioned. Signed: Lenormant.

Document in good condition.

30508. 41/2 pp.

Inventory of property of deceased Widow Duranton.

July 1, 1747. Description made in the form of an Inventory of the property of Jeanne Janviel, widow of one Duranton, a soldier in the troops of this Colony. The inventory was taken in the presence of the

acting Procureur General, and of Mr. Barbin, Attorney of Vacant Estates, by Mr. Henry, Greffier. The inventory covers three pages.

Signed: Barbin; Lenormand; Du Breuil fils; Chantalou; Raguet; Henry (paraph) Greff.

30504. 31/2 pp.

Sale of effects of deceased Widow Duranton. July 7, 1747. Sale of Effects of Succession of Widow Duranton on demand of Mr. Raguet, acting Procureur General, and of Mr. Nicolas Barbin, Attorney of Vacant Estates. Returns on public auction amount-

ed to 289 livres. Signed: Lenormand; Chantalou; Raguet; Barbin. These three documents are in good condition.

July 8. 30514.

fo. 2, 4402, 2 pp.

Loan of 600 livres by Francois Doyon to Joseph Pelletier, with mortgage security. Obligation before notary by Sr. Joseph Pelletier for 600 livres, in piastres of five livres each, to Sr. Francois Doyon, which he promises to pay in October, furnishing mortgage security for said payment.

Signed: Chantalou; Lenormand; Henry. Document charred and perforated.

July 8. 30516. 4403. 1½ pp.

Succession of Louis Houmard.

Petition for a family recting to elect a curator for a minor heir.

Election of curator.

Succession of Louis Houmard. Petition by Pierre Mahyeux before Claude Trenaunay Chanfret. Judge and subdelegate of Pointe Coupée. to convene a meeting of relatives and friends to elect a curator to Cecile Mahyeux, Widow of Louis Houmard, as she is a minor, and expects an heir. The meeting having taken place, Pierre Mahyeux, father of the minor widow is elected curator, and he has accepted the charge and

taken the usual oath.

Signed: maieux; Meuilion; Jan Judice; Trenaunay Chanfret; Potin nore.

Document stained but clearly legible.

30518. 31/2 pp.

Inventory of the property of the deceased Houmard, on petition of his widow. July 8, 1747. Inventory and Appraisement of property of Jean Louis Houmard, on petition of his widow, Cecile Mahyeux, on account of community existing between them, her father as Curator acting in her

name. Inventory covers wearing apparel of deceased, cattle, horse and saddle. Pierre Mahyeux declared that he could not write nor sign, but the document is signed: Maieux; Meuillion; Cecille Mahyeux; Veuve Doumaret; Udry; Trenaunay Chanfret; Potin Nore.

Document stained, with torn margins.

July 11. 2 pp.

Petition of Bancio Piemont against Blanpain for the recovery of a debt. Petition to Superior Council by Jean Baptiste Bancio Piemont for citation of Sr. Blanpair. for recovery of a debt of 2349 livres, 5 sols, for which he holds Blanpain's note dated August 9, 1743, which he may pay in deer-

skins, good and merchantable, to the amount of 1175 skins.

Signed: J Bancio Piemont.

Permission to cite, signed by Lenormant.

July 11, 1747. Notice served on Sr. Notice served. Blanpain to appear before the Council on the first Saturday of August, by Sheriff Lenormand.

July 12, 30522. fo. 2. 4404. 11/2 pp.

Report of Gueydon, King's Surgcon, that a negro whom he had treated for a man in Natchiloches, after being sent back to his master has returned to the surgeon's house.

Report by Surgeon Gueydon, of the King's Hospital, of having treated a negro for Bourguignon of Natchitoches, during eight months, and having sent him back to his Master by M. de Mezieres. The negro having since returned to the Surgeon's house, he makes this report for discharge of M. de Mezieres and his own.

Signed: gueydon; (Indexed in margin "Guidon", but signed "Gueydon.") Henry Greff.

Document in good condition, but blotted.

July 20. 1½ pp.

Petition of Pierre Voisin against de Chavannes for the recovery of a debt.

Petition granted.

Citation served.

Sheriff Lenormand.

Bill in connection with above claim.

Certification of correctness of bill.

Petition to Superior Council by Pierre Voisin for citation of Sr. de Chavannes for recovery of a debt of 47 livres, 15 sols, 3 deniers, with interest and costs of Court. Signed: P. Voisin.

Petition granted. Signed: Lenormant.

July 25, 1747. Notice of Citation before Council served on Sr. de Chavannes by

July 20, 1747. Bill from February 13 to March 13, 1745, presented by Pierre Voisin, merchant of New Orleans, against Sr. de Chavannes.

> July 20, 1747. Certification of correctness of said bill. Signed by P. Voisin.

July 28, 30524. fo. 2. 4405. 1 p.

Declaration of Bernard de Verges concerning escape from plantation of two of his slaves.

Declaration in Registry by Bernard de Verges, Engineer of the King, that one of his slaves, piece d'Inde, aged about forty-five years, has escaped from his plantation with a negress of seventeen or eighteen years; he is ignorant of their whereabouts and makes this report, which was certified,

for the purpose of their arrest. Signed; Deverges; Henry Greff.

Receipt of payment of small sum by Blanpain for Clerment.

July 21, 1747. (Pinned to previous document). A memorandum on a torn playing card, (4 of hearts,) of seven plastres paid by Blanpain for Clermont. Left corner of card torn away.

July 29, 30525. 4400. 7 pp.

Marriage contract of Joseph Deville Desgoutin and Miss Marie Jeanne Caron.

Marriage Contract of Monsieur Joseph Deville Desgoutin, son of deceased Monsieur Louis Marie Desgoutin, when in life Commissioner of the Marine and Intendant (Ordonnateur) in Acadia, and of Dame Jeanne Thibaudeau, both deceased, on one part; and Miss Marie Jeanne Caron,

daughter of deceased Jean Caron and of Marianne Monique, also deceased, authorized to said marriage by her tutor, George Tesson,

stipulating for her.

Signed: Joseph Deville Degoutin; Marie Jeanne Caron; Tesson; Chauvin; F. Mathias; Diederich; Lenormand; Volant; Raguet; Henry, Notary.

Statement of property owned by Deville Degoutin.

July 29, 1747. Statement of property owned by Deville Degoutin, made by Degoutin before George Tesson.

Signed: Tesson; Chantalou.

Document charred, and perforated in some places.

August 1. 30533. fo. 2. 4407. 2 pp.

Tarascon obligation to Massicot.

Obligation of Jacques Lorrain called Tarascon and his wife, Marthe Coussine, to Jacques Massicot, merchant of New Orleans, for the sum of 480 piastres (silver) which he has just lent them for their commerce, which they obligate themselves solidarily

to pay to said Jacques Massicot in six months, hypothecating their movables and immovables, particularly five slaves, who cannot be sold nor alienated until full and complete payment of above debt, costs, expense, damages and interest.

Signed: Henry, notary.

Receipts for partial payments on above obligation, and for payment in full.

January 13, 1748. Receipt for 180 piastres, signed: J Massicot.

March 7, 1748. Receipt for 70 piastres, signed J Massicot.

April 26, 1748. Receipt to Tarascon for 200 piastres, signed J Massicot.

August 15, 1748. Certification, signed by J Massicot, that he has been paid in full.

August 2.

Letter to Sr. Benoist by Widow Gervais. Letter, signed "veuve gervais", to Mr. Benoist de St. Clair, judging from other correspondence. She accuses (?) receipt of his letter. The Illinois are embarrassed. If

the convoy reaches there, we will mock them. If it does not arrive it will be very different. She is worried not so much concerning her own interest, but for the ravages that would ensue. Places all in the hands of He who overthrows armies. She has good opinion of French valor; and with the aid of the Lord they will be victorious, which is to be hoped not only for Illinois but for New Orleans which is not fortified. She sends no duplicate, in the hope that the convoy has reached there, etc.

August 3, 30535, fo. 2, 4408, 6 pp.

Will of Louis Cheval, who makes provision for disposition of his property after death, though now in perfect health. Nuncupative Will of Louis Cheval, who in perfect health, made his last will before the Notary Royal of the Province, naming as his legatees his nephews and a niece, leaving certain sums to the Capuchin Fathers and to the Jesuits, that they may say masses for the repose of his soul, and three hundred livres to the Ursuline Nuns for

the same purpose, and naming Sr. Michel Brosset as his testamentary executor.

Signed: Cheval; Chantalou; Lenormand; Henry notary.

August 5. 2 pp.

De Chavannes condemned to pay 47 livres, 15 sols, to Voisin for merchandise. Excerpt from Registers of Superior Council of August 5, 1747: Judgment rendered in suit of Pierre Voisin, wholesale merchant, plaintiff, vs. Sr. de Chavannes, defendant. Judgement in default against defendant, and order by Council that he be again cited.

Costs pending.

Signed: By the Council. Henry, Greffier. Received five livres.

August 10, 1747. Notice of citation served on Sr. Jean Baptiste de Chavannes, at his domicile in New Orleans, by Sheriff Lenormand.

August 5. 11/2 pp.

Blanpain ordered to pay 360 livres on arrival of first ship from France. Petition to Superior Council by Etienne Layssard Bros., plaintiff, vs. Sr. Joseph Blanpain, settler at the Houmas ("oumas" in text), defendant, for recovery of a debt. Blanpain to be cited at next session of

Council, to hear himself condemned to pay petitioner the sum carried in his obligation. Signed: Layssard freres. Order to cite again, signed: Lenormant. Citation order.

August 7, 1747. Notice of citation be-Citation served. fore Council served on Blanpain at his domicile in the house of Le Kintrek, by Sheriff Marin Lenormand.

August 5. No. 1108. 2 pp. Members present at session of the Superior Council. Session of Superior Council of August 5, 1747, where were present Messrs. de Vaudreuil, Governor; Le Normant, Commissioner General of the Marine; Denoyan (de Noyan), Lieutenant of the King; de Benac, Major; Raguet, Councillor, acting as Procureur

General; and Le Breton, Councillor Assessor. Judgments rendered in the following cases:

De Montendon vs. Du Breuil.

1. De Montendon, plaintiff, vs. Sr. Du Breuil, defendant. Judgment rendered against defendant on July 24, 1743; Council again renders judgment in default against the defendant, and orders him to pay plaintiff eight thousand plastres, 2 livres, as

2. Sr. Pierre Voisin, plaintiff, vs. Sr. de Voisin vs. de Chavannes. Chavannes, defendant. Judgment in default against defendant, and order to cite again at Council's next session. Costs pending.

Piemo"t vs. Blainpain for 2349 livres,

Costs pending.

3. Sr. Piemont, plaintiff, vs. Sr. Joseph Blainpain, defendant, Judgment in default against defendant for obligation of August 9, 1743, and ordering that he be cited anew at next session.

Sr. de Marigny, plaintiff, vs. Sr. Marigny vs. Broutin, as his tutor. Broutin, as his tutor, defendant. Considering decree of the first of last July, answer and defense, produced by both parties, the Council before decision orders that papers be remitted to M. de Lafreniere, appointed referee, and judgment to be rendered on his report. Costs pending. Signed: Lenormant.

**Duplicate of Judgments Rendered by Superior** August 5, 3 pp. Council on August 5, 1747:

De Montendon vs. Du Breuil, Jr. 1. Pierre Frederic de Montendon, Officer of the Swiss troops, plaintiff, vs. Sr. Du Breuil, the elder son, defendant. Judgment in default against Sr. Du Breuil, who is ordered to pay to plaintiff the amount of his

notes, i. e., 8062 livres, and costs.

carried in his notes, and to pay costs.

Voisin vs. de Chavannes.

2. Pierre Voisin, plaintiff, vs. de Chavannes, defendant, who is ordered to pay plaintiff 47 livres, 15 sols, for merchandise delivered to him; and he is cited anew before Council. Costs pending.

Piemont vs. Blanpain. 3. J. Bancio Piemont, plaintiff, vs. Sr. Joseph Blanpain, defendant. Blanpain condemned to pay the sum of 2349 livres, 5 ligation of August 9, 1743, or the quantity

sols, following his obligation of August 9, 1743, or the quantity of 1175 deerskins, good and merchantable, as carried in his obligation, with interest and costs, due to said Blanpain's failure to appear.

Antoine de Marigny vs. Sr. Broutin, his stepfather and tutor. 4. Sr. Antoine Philippe de Marigny, son of Sieur Francois de Hautmenil de Marigny, Ecuyer Sieur de Mandeville, and of Magdelaine Le Maire, now wife of Mr. Ignace

Broutin, plaintiff, vs. said Ignace Broutin, Engineer of the King, defendant. Considering the decree of Council of last July first, and the defense of both parties, the Council orders that it remain on the desk; however, it orders Sr. Broutin to pay provisionally to plaintiff the sum of 1000 livres on account of his pretensions. Costs pending. Following petition of Sr. de Marigny, Council orders that answers and defenses and all papers be submitted to Mr. de Lafreniere, Councillor appointed as referee ("Raporteur" in text), to whom the said parties may write and produce, if it suits them, that on his report may be ordered what is just. Costs pending.

August 7. 30543. fo. 2. 4410. 1½ pp.

Complaint of La Vierge against Barbot, his stepson, who has attacked and insulted him. Declaration by Hardy La Vierge, that being this morning on the bridge of the corner of the street of Mr. de Benac, his stepson, Baptiste Barbot, (his wife's son,) attacked and insulted him, which obliged declarer to tell him to retire; after which he went to the house of Timballier, where said Baptiste insulted him again and assaulted him,

said Timballier coming to Hardy's help. As his life is threatened by this young man, he makes this declaration that justice may be rendered him.

Signed: hardy called La Vierge; Henry Greff.

4 pp.

Petition for inquiry in case of Hardy vs. Barbaut. August 9, 1747. Petition to Mr. Le Normant, General Commissioner and Intendant (Ordonnateur), complaining of assault and insults by his stepson, Jean Baptiste Barbaut, who called him an old

woman, only capable of carrying complaints and unable to defend himself with arms as he would wish, whereon the petitioner prudently sought refuge at Mr. Timballier's, where Baptiste Barbaut joined him to repeat his insults and assaulted him. As his life is daily exposed, and as he has been slapped several times and was even threatened by having a gun aimed at him, wherefore petitioner prays that inquiry be made to be ordered what is just.

Signed: jean pierre hardy; Garic avt.

Inquiry ordered.

August 9, 1747. Order that inquiry be made. Signed: Lenormant.

August 14, 1747. Notice of citation before Council served on Sr. Dauphin, residing at domicile of said Pierre Hardy; on Sr. Timballier, soldier of Mr. Grandpré's company, at his domicile, speaking to his wife; on Sr. Jolly, sergeant of the Swiss company, speaking to Mr. Metzingue; on Sr. Courard, at his domicile; and on Sr. Pierron, called Vendome, to appear this day in the Registry before Mr. de Lafreniere, Commissioner appointed on this case, to testify the truth in the inquiry made between Srs. Hardy and Barbaut, declaring that they will be paid a reasonable price, and that in default of appearing they will be bodily apprehended.

Signed: Lenormand.

Other citations.

Citation also issued to Faucheux and La Lime, at their domiciles in New Orleans.

Signed: Lenormand.

August 10, 30545. fo. 2, 4411, 2 pp.

Sale of slave for 350 plastres, with mortgage security.

Sale of a Young Negress by Mathieu Capraise to Pierre Vauthier, Surgeon of this City, for the sum of 350 piastres (silver). Purchaser obligates himself to pay 150 piastres in the course of the present year and the balance during the first four months of next year, furnishing mortgage

security for said payments.

Signed: Mathieu; Lene; Vauthier; Chantalou; Lenormand; Henry Greff.

Signatures charred and blotted.

August 11. 30547. Declaration in Registry of the Council by fo. 2. 4412. 1 p.

Complaint of theft of two watches.

Complaint of theft of two watches.

Complaint of theft of two watches.

Declaration in Registry of the Council by Pierre Jolly of the theft of a gold watch from his room which one Gonzalle had given him to repair, another of silver belonging to Mr. Olivier, surveyor; which

declaration he demands be certified. Signed: Jolly; Henry Greff.

fo. 2. 4413. 2 pp.

Note for 3835 silver plastres, made by La Combe in favor of Hery, with mortgage Hery, w

August 12. 30548. Acknowledgment by Sr. Vignon La Come (La Combe), settler on the other side of Lake Pontchartrain, now in the house of Surgeon Vautier, who has confessed that he owes Sr. Francois Hery, called Duplanty, resident at Bayou St. John, the sum of 3835 in "piastres gourdes", of five livres each, for the hire of negroes and individual notes

and for settlement of all bills between them, which he promises to pay on the 22nd of the present month, furnishing mortgage security for said payment.

Signed: Vignon La Combe; Vautier; Chantalou; f. hery.

30549.

Receipt for payment in full of above obligation.

March 9, 1748. Receipt and full discharge given to Sr. La Combe by Francois Hery for his obligation to said Hery. Signed: f. hery; Lenormand; Chantalou; Henry notary.

August 14. 7 pp.

Inquiry into the com-plaint made by Hardy against his stepson, Barbaut.

Inquiry made before Nicolas Chauvin de la Freniere, Councillor in the Superior Council, on petition of Pierre Hardy, plaintiff, to the Attorney General of the King, vs. Jean Baptiste Barbaut, defendant and accused. After examining witnesses, Coun-

cillor Lafreniere demands that the report of the inquiry be communicated to the Attorney General of the King. The Attorney General of the King demands that Jean Baptiste Barbaut, accused of assault on and want of respect for his Attorney General. stepfather, appear before the Superior Council to be heard and interrogated on the facts reported in the present inquiry, to be decided thereon what shall appertain. This demand made September 2, 1747.

Signed: Raguet, acting as Attorney General.

August 16. 11/2 pp.

Action for collection of a note due by a succession.

Petition to Mr. Lenormant by Daniel Hubert, stating that he is charged with a note of deceased Diron, cobbler at Mobile, in favor of Pierre Daumenil, resident of the said place, for advances made by him to said Diron. The note is annexed to the peti-

tion, with certificates signed by Sr. Bobé Desclozeaux and Sr. Bernoudy. He prays that Mr. Barbin, Attorney of Vacant Estates, be cited and compelled to pay the thirty-seven piastres and costs in current money. Signed: Daniel Hubert.

Citation order.

Order to cite Mr. Barbin, signed: Lenormant.

August 18, 1747. Following petition of Daniel Hubert called La Croix, notice of citation before Council served on Sr. Barbin personally at his domicile in New Orleans.

Signed: Lenormand.

August 16. 30553. fo. 2. 4415. 3 pp. Will of Vignon.

Nuncupative Will of Claude Vignon called La Combe. Signed: Vignon La Combe; Cantrelle; Cariton; Henry notary. (Published in extenso in Louisana Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, pp. 567-569.)

August 19. 30557. 4416. 1 p.

Sale of two negro slaves for 2200 livres. Sale of Two Negro Slaves by Marie Colon, acting under procuration of Antoine Sarrazin, her husband, to her son-in-law, Pierre Le Doux, for the sum of 2200 livres. Signed: Dhaussy, witness; Potin notary. Marie Colon declared that she did not know

how to write nor sign.

Document stained by water, and with curled margins.

August 22. 30558. fo. 2. 4417. 1½ pp.

Sale of negro slave for 100 Spanish silver piastres, paid cash. Sale of a Negro Slave by Pierre Clermont to Pierre Vautier, Surgeon of New Orleans, for the sum of 100 piastres in silver, money of Spain, which purchaser paid cash. Signed: Chantalou; Vautier; Lenormand; Henry notary.

Document in good condition.

August 26.

Proceedings confirming the identity of one Pierre Nicolas Messager. Declaration and Attestation in the Registry of the Superior Council by Messrs. Nicolas Chauvin de Lafreniere, Jean Baptiste Raguet, Councillor in said council and acting as Attorney General, and Mr. Ignace

Broutin, Captain Reformé, Engineer of the King in the said Province, that one Pierre Nicolas Messager, who came to this Colony, to the Concession of Mezières in 1720, is alone of the name, and that he appeared before us living and in perfect health, demanding that this attestation be made, to have recognition from his family. He said that he was a native of Paris, which he left when very young, which the aforesaid certify for having seen him traveling in Illinois to earn his living.

Signed: Raguet; Broutin; Lafreniere; Henry Greff.
Document in good condition.

August 28. 1½ pp.

Chantalou vs. Chauvin de Boisclair, for payment for merchandise delivered. Petition to Superior Council by Augustin Chantalou, acting under procuration of Sr. Paul Rasteau, for recovery of funds in this Colony, viz: By Sr. Chauvin\* de Boisclair 669 livres, 13 sols, 6 deniers, for merchandise following memorandum certified by Sr. Rasteau, wherefore he prays that Sr.

Chauvin de Boisclair be cited before the Council and be compelled to pay said sum, with interest and costs.

Signed: Chantalou.

Permit to cite.

August 28, 1747. Permit to cite, signed: Lafreniere.

Notice of citation.

September 9, 1747. Notice of citation served on Sr. Boisclair Delery\* at his domicile which he has elected at Mr. de la Chaise's. Signed: Lenormand.

August 28. 1½ pp.

Rasteau vs. Carriere to collect a sum due for merchandise delivered.

Petition to Superior Council by Augustin Chantalou, acting under procuration of Sr. Paul Rasteau (name is frequently written "Rateau" in these records, when it should be "Rasteau"), for the recovery of funds due in the Colony, praying for citation of Sieur Jacques Carriere, who owes him 1074

livres, 6 sols, on a note for merchandise delivered and certified by Sr. Rasteau. Signed: Chantalou.

Permit to cite.

August 28, 1747. Permit to cite, signed: Lafreniere.

September 5, 1747. Following petition of Sr. Augustin Chantalou, Chief Clerk of the Council, notice of citation served on Sr. Carriere at his domicile by Sheriff Lenormand.

Margins of document torn and curled.

August 28. 1½ pp.

Rasteau vs. Dubois to collect a debt. Petition to Superior Council, by Augustin Chantalou, acting under procuration of Sr. Paul Rateau (Rasteau), for recovery of funds in this Colony, praying for citation

<sup>\*(</sup>Translator's Note: This Chauvin was Nicolas Chauvin Boisclair de Lery, married to one of the Chevalier D'Arensbourg's daughters. Jacques de la Chaise, son of the Director General, was his wife's brother-in-law, having married her sister, Marguerite D'Arensbourg.—H. H. C.)

of Sr. Dubois to compel him to pay the sum of 1495 livres, 2 sols, 6 deniers, for merchandise delivered. Said Dubois owes the bill, interest, expense and costs. Signed: Chantalou.

Permit to cite.

August 28, 1747. Permit to cite, signed by Lafreniere.

Citation served.

August 29, 1747. Notice of citation served on Dubois by Sheriff Lenormand.

August 28, 30561. fo. 2, 4419, 2½ pp.

Lease of part of a house by Voisin to Garic for 600 livres for one year. Lease Granted by Sr. Pierre Voisin, of a house situated at the corner of Royal and St. Philip streets, which he has leased "to Jean Baptiste Gary (Garic) avocat", the said property consisting in eight lots with a brick house thereon, with a wooden store,

for one year, for the sum of 600 livres, payable quarterly, the proprietor reserving use of the cellar. Clauses and conditions enumerated.

Signed: P. Voisin; Garic; Chantalou; Lenormand; Henry notary.

Document perforated, but perfectly legible.

August 28. 1½ pp.

Rasteau vs. Judice, for collection of a debt.

Petition to Superior Council by Augustin Chantalou, acting under procuration of Sr. Paul Rateau (Rasteau), for recovery of funds due in this Colony, prays for the citation of Nicolas Judice, to compel him to pay the sum of 229 livres, 9 sols, 9 deniers,

interest thereon, expense and costs.

Signed: Chantalou.

Permit to cite.

August 28, 1747. Permit to cite, signed by Lafreniere.

Citation served.

August 29, 1747. Notice of citation served on Nicolas Judice at his domicile by

Sheriff Lenormand.

August 28. 3 pp.

Rasteau vs. Carriere, Buquoy, Barré, Larche, Cartaud and Deiande, for collection of debts due by defendants. Petition to Superior Council by Augustin Chantalou, acting under procuration of Sr. Paul Rateau (Rasteau), for citation of Sr. Andre Carriere, settler at the lower end of the River, to compel him to pay his note for 175 livres; also for citation of Henry

Bucois (apparently should be "Buquoy") called Plaisance, who owes 155 livres, 13 sols; of Sr. Paul Barré, settler, who owes 43 livres, 5 sols; of Sr. Larche, who owes 16 livres, 10 sols; Sr.

Cartaud called Toulouze, for debt of 221 livres; Delande, planter, for 36 livres, 10 sols; praying that they be condemned to pay amount of notes, expense and costs.

Signed: Chantalou.

Permit to cite.

August 28, 1747. Permit to cite, signed Lafreniere.

Citations served.

September 5, 1747. Notices served on the above named debtors by Sheriff Lenor-

mand.

First page perforated and charred.

August 29. 30564. fo. 2. 4420. 3 pp.

Nuncupative will of Thomas Desercis.

Nuncupative Will of Thomas Desercis, resident of New Orleans, made before Notary Royal. He declared that he was a native of La Rochelle. His legatees were the Parish of this City, Sr. Thomas Lefebvre, his godson, who is also his principal legatee

and his testamentary executor, having no other heirs in this Colony. He enumerates debts due to him and those that he owes; and mention is also made of bedding and clothes at Widow La Pointe's.

Will is signed: Mathieu; Cacadier; dusigne witness; Henry notary.

August 30. 1½ pp.

De Marigny vs. Broutin, asking that defendant be compelled to make a further advance to him so that he may pay creditors, Petition to Superior Council by Sieur Antoine Philipe de Marigny de Mandeville, Marine Officer, stating that the delay of judgment in the suit against Mr. Broutin has obliged him to ask the Court for a provision of 100 pistoles which were granted, but that sum was not sufficient to pay his creditors. He needs 1500 livres more to settle his

affairs, wherefore he prays you Gentlemen, to grant his petition and to condemn Sieur Broutin to pay that sum without delay, keeping account of same. Signed: Philipe Demandeville.

Notice of citation.

August 30, 1747. Notice to be given. Signed: Lenormant.

August 31, 1747. Notice of above petition and order served on Mr. Broutin, Engineer of the King, at his domicile, speaking to his negro servant, Dominique, by Sheriff Lenormand.

August 31. 30567. Marriage Contract of Louis Pigeot,\* son of deceased Jacques de Pigeot and Marguerite Huquet, and Miss Francoise Roquigny,

<sup>\*(</sup>Translator's note: Widower of Anne Collet.—H. H. C.)

Marriage contract between Louis Pigeot and Miss Francoise Roquigny. minor daughter of Jacques Roquigny and Marie Joly, a native of New Orleans. Signed: Roquigny; f. Roujot; Marie

helene Roquigny; gonzalle; poisat; Chan-

talou; Lenormand; Henry, notary.

September 1.

For homologation and execution of will of Desercis.

Order issued.

2 pp.

September 2.

Marianne Dinan vs. Jean Cariton, her husband. Petition to Superior Council by Thomas Lefebvre for homologation and execution of will of deceased Thomas Desercis. Signed: Lefebvre.

September 2, 1747. Order for homologation of said will. Signed: Raguet.

Excerpt from Registers of Superior Council.
Case of Marianne Dinan, plaintiff, vs. Jean
Cariton, her husband, defendant. Council
has examined the petition of last August
24, inquiry made on the 28th of said month,
and the conclusions of the Attorney Gen-

eral; it orders that notice of said inquiry be served on Sr. Cariton, that he may prove the contrary, report to be made of same, to be ordered what is just.

Signed: By the Council. Henry, Greffier.

Notice served on Jean Cariton.

September 3, 1747. Notice of said decision served on Sr. Jean Cariton, tailor of New Orleans, at his domicile by Sheriff Lenormand.

September 2. 1½ pp.

Layssard Bros. vs. Baudemont, for collection of debt. Excerpt from Registers of Superior Council.

Layssard Bros., plaintiff, vs. Louis Baudemont called Des Loriers, defendant. Council orders defendant, Baudemont, to pay the sum of 440 livres, as balance of a larger amount. Judgment in default against defendant, and order to cite again at next

session of the Council. Receipt for 8 livres.

Signed: By the Council. Henry, Greff.

September 9, 1747. Notice of re-citation served on Louis Baudemont called Desloriers, by Sheriff Lenormand.

ANTONIO STATE OF A COME. Co

Bill connected with the above claim.

March 17, 1744. Bill from Layssard Bros. to Mr. Desloriers, for 2 casks of red wine, 1 cask of white wine, amounting to

700 livres.

Receipt for part payment on above account. June 6, 1744. Received payment on account 260 livres. Balance of bill, excepting error: 440 livres. August 2, 1747.

Signed: Layssard freres.

September 2. 1 p.

Roujot excused from appearing until next session of Council. Petition to Superior Council to excuse Sr. Edmé Roujot from appearing before it until its next session on account of illness, at the same time stating that debt attributed to him should be charged to Mr. Assailly, and that M. Rasteau is also indebted to

him.

Signed: E. F. Roujot.

September 2. No. 1110.

Marigny vs. Broutin.

Session of Superior Council of September 2, 1747. Judgments rendered in the following cases:

1. Sr. Philipe de Marigny, plaintiff, vs. Sieur Broutin, defendant. Council orders Sr. Broutin to pay plaintiff the sum of 1100 livres, and moreover the note of Sr. Chamilly, on account of what reverts to him from succession of his father, Mr. de Mandeville.

Pierre Voisin vs. de Chavannes.

2. Sr. Pierre Voisin, plaintiff, vs. Sr. de Chavannes, defendant. Council condemns defendant by second default, who imed interest thereon and costs.

must pay the sum claimed, interest thereon and costs.

Daniel Hubert de La Croix vs. Barbin, as Attorney of Vacant Estates. 3. Sr. Daniel Hubert de la Croix, plaintiff, vs. Sr. Barbin, Attorney of Vacant Estates, charged with succession of deceased Sr. Tesson, defendant. Council has ordered

Sr. Barbin to pay to plaintiff the sum of 37 plastres carried in note of December 4, 1745.

4. Leyssard Bros., plaintiff, vs. Sr.

Baudemont, defendant. Council has rendered judgment in default against defendant, and orders that he be cited again. Costs pending.

5. Layssard Bros., plaintiff, vs. Sr.

Blanpain. Blanpain, defendant. Judgment in default against defendant, and orders that he be cited again. Costs pending.

Plement vs. Blanpain.

6. Sr. Piement, plaintiff, vs. Sr. Blanpain, defendant. Judgment in second default against defendant, who is ordered to pay 2349 livres, 5 sols, carried in his obligation of August 9, 1743.

Rasteau va. Dubois.

7. Sr. Augustin Chantalou, acting for Sr. Rasteau, plaintiff, vs. Sr. Dubois, defendant. Council orders defendant to pay plaintiff 1595 livres, 2 sols, 6 deniers, and 100 pounds of skins, carried in his obligation of April 3, 1747, and to pay costs.

8. Sr. Chantalou, acting under procuration of Sr. Rasteau, plaintiff, vs. Nicolas Judice, defendant. Council has adjourned the case. Costs pending.

Chantalou vs. Derny.

9. Chantalou, plaintiff, vs. Laveau
Derny, Indigo maker, defendant. Judgment in default against Derny, and order that he be cited again.
Costs pending.

Quentin vs. Tiret.

10. Sr. Chantalou, acting for Sr. Quentin, plaintiff, vs. Sr. Tiret, defendant.

Judgment in default against defendant, and order that he be cited again. Costs pending.

Chantalou vs. Cristina.

11. Sr. Chantalou (officially), plaintiff, vs. Nicolas Cristina, defendant. Council orders defendant to refer to the Register (livre) of the Council, and condemns him to pay sixty-five livres, five sols, and costs.

Chantalou vs. Roujeot.

12. Sr. Chantalou, plaintiff, vs. Sr. Roujeot, defendant. Council has ordered parties to go over accounts. Costs pending.

Petition for homologation of a will made by Thomas Desarst, after conclusions of the Procureur General of the King, orders homologation for its execution in its form and tenor. Signed: Lenormant.

September 2. 1109. 1 p.

Hardy vs. Barbot.

Suit Instituted by Hardy, called La Vierge, plaintiff, vs. Barbot, defendant. Decree of adjournment.
Signed: Lenormant.

September 2. 30573. fo. 2. 4422.

Contract for construction of barracks for 400 livres cash. Contract Passed Before Notary Royal between Sr. Lemoine and Sieurs Jonatas Darby and Prevost, said Lemoine agreeing to construction of barracks 150 feet in length, to have it put by negroes furnished, separations and openings according to plan agreed on with M. Deverges, and with clauses and conditions which Sr. Prevost

has laid before His Majesty, said Prevost to pay Lemoine, who will work jointly with Sr. Darby, the sum of 400 livres cash.

Signed: Lemoine; Prevost; Chantalou; Lenormand; Henry Notary.

September 3. 30575, fo. 2. 4423. 2½ pp.

Agreement concerning support of minor children of deceased father. Agreement Before Witnesses, between Sr. Prevost, Agent of the Company of the Indies, acting for Francoise Plassan, formerly Widow of deceased Nicolas Mayeux, his wife, from whom he is separated in goods, regulating sum to be paid for maintaintence of children of deceased Mayeux, and of servants.

Signed: Prevost; Chantalou; Plassan; prevost; Lenormand; Henry Notary.

Document in good condition.

September 6. 30580. fo. 2. 4425. 6 pp.

Marriage contract between Antoine Joly and Francoise Renard. Contract of Marriage between Antoine Joly, Sergeant of the Swiss Company of Karrer, son of deceased Jacques Joly and Marie Magdelaine Ganer, on one side, and on the other Francoise Renard, Widow of Pierre Cousin, daughter of deceased Jean Renard and Helenne Durin,

Signed: Françoise renard; Menkingle; Chantalou; V Senitz; Wiltz; Henry notary.

Document blotted.

30585.

Inventory of above Joly's property.

September 6, 1747. Inventory of property Joly brings to community of marriage between himself and Widow Cousin.

Signed: francoise renard; Menkingle; Henry notary.

September 8.

Bill for goods, and receipt for payment.

Bill Due by Mr. Ancelin for groceries and wine. Still due on bill for 14083 livres, on which 13565 livres have been paid, balance of 518 livres. On reverse of bill, receipt,

dated April 22, 1747, signed: Campo.

September 9. 30587. fo. 2. 4426. 5 pp.

Marriage contract between Pierre Revoil and Marie Catherine Laroche. Marriage Contract by Pierre Revoil, son of Etienne Revoil and Marie Gerbat, both deceased, and Marie Catherine Laroche, minor daughter of deceased Jean Laroche and Marie Daudin, now married to Jacques Massicot, a native of New Orleans.

Signed: pierre Revoil; Mari Laroche; J. Masico; Masicot; (illegible); Chantalou;

francois gallard; Lenormand; lenormand; Henry notary.

30591.

List and valuation of Revoil's clothes.

30592.

List and valuation of bride's clothes.

30594.

List of furniture, and other goods, given to the bride by her stepfather, Jacques Massicot.

September 12. 30610. fo. 2. 4428. 4 pp.

Marriage contract between Thomas Lefebvre and Marie Jeanne Lambert.

September 13. 30614.

Slip. Receipt.

September 13. 30615. fo. 2. 4429. 1 p.

Report on a runaway

September 9, 1747. Statement of clothes which Revoil owned at the time of his marriage to Catherine Laroche, worth 2437 livres. Certified and signed by Pierre Revoil.

September 9, 1747. Statement of clothes owned by Catherine Laroche when she married, worth 2081 livres. Certified and signed by Pierre Revoil.

September 9, 1747. Statement of furniture, household utensils, linen and other objects given to Marie Catherine Laroche, on occasion of her marriage to Pierre Revoil, by her stepfather, Jacques Massicot.

Marriage Contract passed between Thomas Lefebvre, son of Noël Lefebvre and Louise Philipote, a native of Biloxi, and Marie Jeanne Lambert, a daughter of Honoré Lambert and Agnes Bloin.

Signed: Thomas Lefebvre; Dlle Dupart; Languedoc; honnoré Lambert; Mathieu; Chantalou; Lenormand; Henry notary.

Receipt by Laveau to Mr. Degruy for the sum of 1258 livres, "to serve and avail as need may be."

Act Passed before Registrar on report of Agathe Hubert, wife of Sr. Arnaud Delery, of a negress named Therese having run away, she knows not why, and she demands aid of the Procureur General that justice may be done. She declared that she did not know how to write nor sign, wherefore Sr. Arnaud signed for her.

Signed: Arnaud; Henry Notary.

September 13. 30578. fo. 2, 4424. 1½ pp.

Sale of a negro slave for 2250 livres, part cash. Sale of a Negro, piece d'Inde, named Malbrou, by Sr. Jean Baptiste Baudreau, residing on the other side of Lake Pontchartrain, to Sr. Jullien Ruelland, for the sum of 2250 livres, payable in 400 piastres, on which 220 piastres have been paid cash, the remainder to be paid in May of the coming year. The negro is at present in the house

of Surgeon Vautier and his wife Catherine Vincennes.
Signed: Baudreau; Vautier; Chantalou.

September 18. 30616. fo. 3, 4430, 3 pp.

Division of property between Jean Cariton and his wife, Marianne Dinan. Agreement of Division of Property between Jean Cariton, tailor of New Orleans, and his wife Marianne Dinan; mortgage of house and slaves as security for the debt he owes her, the debt to be paid at expiration of promissory notes.

Signed: Cariton; Cantrelle; Marianne Cariton; Chantalou; Henry notary.

30635.

Cariton's debts.

Statement of debts of Jean Cariton, amounting to 877 livres.
Signed: Cariton.

30618.

Marianne Dinan files complaint against Jean Cariton, her husband. August 28, 1747. Appearance of Marianne Dinan in Registry before Nicolas Chauvin de la Freniere, Councillor in the Superior Council, Commissioner in this case, authorized by law to claim her rights

against her husband, Jean Cariton, by order of Mr. Le Normant, Commissioner General of the Marine, who has caused to be cited certain witnesses against her husband, who is hiding in this City, and on his non-appearance testimony of witnesses was received.

30620.

Investigation of above complaint.

August 28, 1747. Inquiry made by Nicolas de la Freniere, Councillor in the Superior Council, on petition of Marianne Dinan in case of Jean Cariton, her hus-

band, who is a gambler, and after hearing the testimony Councillor Lafreniere ordered that evidence be submitted to the Procureur General of the King. Signed: Lafreniere.

30625.

Petition of Cariton's wife for separation of property.

Petition to Superior Council, for inquiry against her husband, an incorrigible gambler, whose vice will lead her to the Hospital. She prays for division of what is left of their property and to proceed afterwards

to separation of community. Signed: Marianne Cariton.

Action on petition.

Order to communicate to the Procureur General of the King. Signed: Lenormant.

30626.

Petition granted.

Petition of Marianne Dinan, wife of Jean Cariton, granted. Signed: Raguet, acting as Procureur General.

Permit for inquiry.

August 24, 1747. Permit for inquiry. Signed: Lenormant.

Witnesses summoned. August 26, 1747. Notices served on different witnesses to testify in inquiry demanded by Marianne Dinan. Signed: Lenormand.

30627.

Cariton summoned.

September 2, 1747. Notice served on Sr. Cariton, tailor of New Orleans, to appear and produce defense. Signed: Lenormant.

30628.

Notice served.

September 13, 1747. Notice served on Sr. Cariton at his domicile, speaking to him personally.

30629.

Petition of Mrs. Cariton for division of community property. September 7, 1747. Petition to Superior Council by Marianne Dinan, wife of Cariton, for annulment of community clause and division of community property.

Signed: Marianne Cariton.

30633.

Petition granted.

Petitioner authorized to claim her rights, and Mr. Prat appointed on said investigation. Signed: Salmon.

30631.

Cariton acknowledges receipt of 3000 livres from his wife. August 16, 1739. Acknowledgment by Jean Cariton of having received 3000 livres from Marianne Dinan, which sum she had from her parents, invested in merchandise which brought 5000 livres to pay off mort-

gage on his house. This acknowlegment was registered to serve in case of decease of said Cariton. Signed: Cariton.

September 20. 3½ pp.

Petition to prevent dissipation of family property by dissolute heir, to injury of other heirs. Petition to Mr. Le Normant, Commissioner of the Marine and Ordonnateur and First Judge in the Superior Council, by Sr. Jean Gregoir Volant, acting in the name of his wife Marthe Chauvin, niece of Marthe Lavergne, and Jacques Chauvin, as nephew of Marthe Lavergne, wife of Sr. Baudreau Graveline, and her presumptive heirs, who

brought dowry and acquired considerable community property with her husband; requests sale of all that is left, that sales previously made be declared null and void, and that said Baudreau Graveline, who is almost senile, be not allowed to have fortune dissipated by his son from a clandestine marriage, and whom he has legitimated. This son could not act in previous sales, being civilly non-existing. Prayer that said Baudreau be sent here to avoid entire loss.

Signed: Volant; Chauvin; Garic "avocat".

Citation order.

September 20, 1747. Graveline cited before Council at its next session.

Signed: Lenormant.

Citation served.

September 20, 1747. Notice of citation served on Sr. Graveline, for the first Satur-

day of October.

Signed: Lenormand.

September 21. 30636. fo. 3. 4431. 3½ pp.

Sale of buildings and lot at Mobile, for 3000 livres, with mortgage security. Sale before Notary of a lot at Fort Condé, Mobile, with buildings thereon, by Alexis Philippe Carlier and his wife, Marie Joseph Poupart, to Jean Baptiste Bobé Descloseaux for the sum of 3000 livres, to be paid in three installments, and for security of said payments he hypothecates the mov-

ables and immovables he now owns and what may come to him hereafter.

Signed: Bobé Descloseaux; Carlier; marie Joseph Poupart carlier; Chantalou; Lenormand; Henry, notary.

30638.

Receipt for payment of above obligation in full.

July 14, 1747. Acknowledgment of having received full payment from Mr. Descloseaux of 3000 livres by Mr. and Mrs. Philippe Carlier. A true copy of said receipt remitted to Mr. Descloseaux.

September 23. 30640. fo. 2. 4432. 4½ pp.

Marriage contract between Pierre Guesnon and Perrine Douville. Contract of Marriage between Pierre Guesnon, Cannoneer in the King's troops, son of Simon Guesnon and of Charlotte Sanson, both deceased, and Perrine Douville, minor daughter of Florent Douville and Dame Marie Jeanne Salmon.

Signed: Pierre Guesnon; Perrine Douville; Chauvin; Avignon; Fortie; Chantalou; Lenormand; Henry notary.

September 24. 30645. 4433. 3 pp.

Inventory.

Inventory of succession of deceased Jean Gaspard Michel.

Signed: Voileau, witness.

30647. 2 pp.

Sale of property of

September 22, 1747. Sale and adjudication of effects, furniture, arms and animals belonging to succession of Jean Gaspard Michel, deceased, on his plantation at the German Coast.

September 27. 1 p.

Documents concerning affairs of Dartaguette.

Excerpt from Mr. Diron's letter received by Mr. Le Normant at the Cape (San Domingo). All receipts from Mr. Dartaguette by his brother. Copy of Widow Diron's letter of May 4, 1744. Bills of Mr. Dartaguette, with interest. Certified by Mr.

Dartaguette, February 16, 1747, and September 27, 1747.

September 27. 1½ pp.

Action to compel tutor to render account to ward who has attained her majority. Petition to Mr. Le Normant, Commissioner of the Marine, Ordonnateur and First Judge of the Superior Council, by Pierre Revoil, husband of Catherine La Roche, for citation of Jacques Massicot, husband of Widow La Roche and tutor of her minor

daughter, Mrs. Revoil, who has attained her majority and would wish account rendered of her father's succession.

Petition granted.

Petition granted and citation issued. Signed: Lenormant.

Citation served.

September 27, 1747. Notice served on Sr. Massicot at his domicile by Sheriff

Lenormand.

September 28. 30651. fo. 3. 4435. 2½ pp.

Nuncupative will of Joseph Casenave.

Nuncupative Will of Joseph Cazenave, overseer of the plantation of Mr. de Noyan, one mile and a half distant from New Orleans, where he died in a room in the main house facing on the River. All that he leaves he has earned in this Colony, and he prays Mr. Gilles Augustin Payen de

Noyan to accept this inheritance as a testimony of his gratitude, annulling all other wills he may have made, wishing this one alone to be valid.

Signed: J. Cazenave; Maramde; Chantalou; Henry, notary.

September 29, 30654, 4436, 2 pp.

Note for 900 livres, payable in one year, with mortgage security. Before Notary promise made by Sebin, called La Pierre, and his wife, Marie Therese Drouilan (Drouillon), to pay to Layssard Brothers the sum of 900 livres in the course of the coming year, giving mortgage security for said payment.

Signed: Sebin; Maritherese Drouillon.

(To be continued)

## INDEX TO THE SPANISH JUDICIAL RECORDS OF LOUISIANA XLVI.

May, 1782
(Continued from April, 1935, Quarterly)

## By LAURA L. PORTEUS

With Marginal Notes by Henry P. Dart, when not initialed.

Spanish officials appearing in this installment:

Esteban Miro, Brevet Colonel of the Fixed Regiment of this Place, Governor ad interim for this Province.

Martin Navarro, Intendant General of this Province and of the Royal Treasury.

Juan Doroteo del Postigo, Assessor General.

Alcaldes, Jacinto Panis, Guido Dufossat, Francisco Joseph Le Bretton (1783).

Escribanos, Leonardo Mazange and Andres Almonester.

Attornies, Francisco Broutin, Fernando Rodriguez.

Sindico Procurador General (?) Astier, (Attorney General for the Municipal Government)

Juan Ventura Morales, Contador del Ramo de Poblacion y Amistad de Indios en esta Provincia. (Accountant for the Branch of the Population and Friendship of the Indians of this Province.) (Perhaps "Accountant for the City Branch of Trade with the Indians of this Province"?)

Francisco Muñoz, Warden of the Prison.

Renalto, or Renaldo, Brion, Receiver General and Inspector General of Tobacco for His Majesty in this Province.

Alexandro De Clouet, Commander of the Post of Atakapas and Opelousas.

Miguel Cantrelle, Commander of the Post of the Acadien Coast.

May 2, 1782. William Strother vs. Juan B. Macarty

No. 3460. 156 pp.

Court of Alcaldes, Jacinto Panis and Francisco Joseph Le Bretton.

Assessor, Postigo.

Escribanos, Leonardo Mazange and Fernando Rodriguez.

To collect a note.

This lengthy suit, brought for the collection of a note, involves a dispute growing out of the sale of a quantity of tobacco, which was delivered to and accepted by the agent of the purchaser, during the latter's absence from New Orleans. Upon his return the purchaser found the tobacco in such poor condition

The first entry is an exhibit, marked No. 46, by which Mr. D'Aunoy requests William Strother to pay Mr. Ellis for Mr. Macarty's account 1781 pesos, for value received, in tobacco at New Orleans, January 23, 1782. At the end of this note is written: "Paid at New Orleans January 24, 1782." Signed: John Ellis. Guillermo Strother presents the above and sets forth it is evident from this order that he has paid 1781 pesos for Mr. Macarty and although he has taken various actions he can not obtain his money. He prays to have the defendant pay him without delay. Panis rules: Send this petition to Juan B. Macarty.

as to be worthless, and he claims it was worthless at the time it was delivered to his agent; while the vendor claims that the damage was due to the poor warehousing of the tobacco after it had been delivered. The dispute also involves the validity of tobacco inspection in New Orleans, the claims of one litigant being borne out by the testimony of the official government tobacco inspector, while the other bases his claims on the testimony of a negro slave, who has had long experience in tobacco cultivation in Virginia, and who now makes a business of inspecting tobacco for merchants in New Orleans. The testimony of this slave is attacked as invalid by the opposition.

It also appears in the testimony that tobacco from Natchez had been offered to the purchaser's agent at a certain price, but that the tobacco now in dispute, which came from Opelousas, had later been substituted for the first offered, and at the same price.

After petition and answer, charges of fraud and counter-charges of attempt to evade commercial obligations and to avoid loss from the purchaser's own negligence in storing the tobacco in an unsuitable warehouse, and after the examination of many witnesses, both in New Orleans and in Opelousas, the dispute over the tobacco is finally settled by compromise.

The suit is of interest to the student of Louisiana law because of the issues involved, the manner of taking the testimony, and the questions raised as to the commercial laws and usages of Spanish Louisiana. It is interesting to the historian on account of the insight it gives into the economic conditions of the period.

—W. P.

There is not be dealth and to end the their allegation of the country of the coun

Mr. Macarty answers, saying Macarty's answer. there is nothing extraordinary in his opponent having paid this amount for him when according to his note, at the date of maturity, he owed the petitioner a like sum, besides other debts, as will appear from documents he will present in due time. When he, Macarty, left this Province he placed Nicolas Daunoy in charge of his affairs and of course the note mentioned for collection. When he asked Strother for this amount, he answered that he did not have it, but proposed to pay in tobacco in hogsheads, which was agreeable to Mr. Daunoy, on condition it be of good quality. He named Renato Brion to examine the part belonging to Mr. Ellis, who said he found it of good quality and proceeded to appraise it at 91/2 sols a pound, and for payment of it he drew up the order which appears on page 1. However it came to his notice that the tobacco was a very bad quality, as it had been cut green, and for this reason did not season properly, could not last, nor stand the voyage without spoiling; after it came into his possession it was well stored. Therefore he asks to have it examined by persons well versed in the cultivation of tobacco, according to usage and custom, dividing the hogsheads into two or three parts, but he objects to having the examination made by Brion. And done, return the records to him so that he may set forth what is convenient to him. Panis orders this sent to the opposition.

William Strother asks to withdraw from the suit.

William Strother answers, saying he has received the defendant's petition in response to his demand,

by which Mr. Macarty claims the tobacco requires examination, and as it belongs to Juan Ellis, who is at present in this city, he asks that the suit be directed against him, as he, Strother, does not see why he should suffer this great loss because of having advanced the money. This is ordered sent to Macarty.

Macarty answers with a long petition running from page 6 to page 13, saying the spoiled tobacco was bought by Mr. Daunoy, in his name, from Mr. Ellis, on account and in part payment for money owed him by Mr. Strother. He gives the following data in support of his claim, going into detail about the transaction.

He gave Mr. Strother 2000 pesos to buy negroes in Pensacola for his account and to take out his commission. He executed this order, in part, but on his return to this city, Mr. Daunoy, then in charge of Mr. Macarty's affairs during his absence, asked him for the negroes in accordance with the instructions he had received. Strother answered that it was impossible to deliver the slaves, or return the 2000 pesos, because he had used the money to pay his creditors.

It is generally known that Strother brought several negroes to the city bought in Pensacola with Macarty's money, after receiving it, at 200 and 250 pesos and sold them here at 450 to 500 pesos. When Daunoy could not collect from Strother, he notified Macarty in Havana that he feared Strother would not pay because he had several creditors demanding settlements. He reminded him before he left that Strother proposed to sell him some good tobacco from Natchez. He immediately wrote to Mr. Daunoy to seize and hold it to cover the value of Macarty's credit, but when Mr. Daunoy received his letter, Strother had already sold the tobacco. He then offered some from Opelousas consisting of 23 hogsheads belonging to Mr. Ellis, which Mr. Daunoy accepted on condition that it be of good quality. Strother, who certainly had a better knowledge of tobacco than Mr. Daunoy, since he has been in the business for many years, directed Mr. Daunoy to investigate for himself the quality of the tobacco; this he did not do, but consented to meet Mr. Ellis to tell him he agreed on the price and to draw an order upon him to this effect. They fixed the price at 91/2 sols a pound, which is the highest paid in this colony, with the understanding that it was of the best quality. Mr. Daunoy, who did not know any persons better versed in tobacco crops than the English of this Colony, residents and merchants of Natchez, requested Mr. Brion to make the examination, and he, because of ignorance or neglect, opened the tops of the hogsheads only, accepting all on the examination of one without even opening up the cask and breaking up the mass into parts nor unrolling the bundles of leaves according to usage and custom before deciding if it is good.

In consequence of Mr. Brion's examination, Mr. Daunoy put the tobacco in Lieutenant Francisco de Bouligny's warehouse, a place well boarded up and expressly made to preserve from dampness, where it has always been kept, with the exception of two howsheads which were left under the gallery of the said house; therefore it is easy to see that this would not have caused it to spoil. These observations have forced him to arrive at the conclusion that Messrs. Ellis and Strother sold bad tobacco for good and cheated him, and to support his argument he will give other and more evident reasons.

On his return from Havana, Mr. Duralde, a resident of Opelousas, offered two hogsheads of the same crop that Mr. Ellis' steward had delivered to him for sale, and before accepting, he, Macarty, ordered the customary inspector, one called Adam, usually selected by the merchants, to make a report on its condition. He opened the hogsheads, saw and examined the contents, and after due reflection said it was necessary to separate the less bad from what was entirely spoiled, and having done this he repudiated more than three-fourths of it, advising him

that the other part was not good either. Mr. Duralde could not be convinced that the tobacco was of such poor quality so he called for an examination by two manufacturers of snuff, Messrs. Carriere and Marchand, and they decided the tobacco refused by Adam was worthless. For this reason Duralde had the greater part of it thrown into the water a little later. Mr. Ellis' brother brought down two hogsheads which he could not load on the first voyage, and offered them to Macarty, thinking they could be passed like the others; but the examiner, Adam, having looked them over carefully, refused them as useless.

These are the circumstances which prove the poor quality of the tobacco sold to Mr. Daunoy. He further explained to the examiner that Mr. Ellis had sold him a very bad lot which was placed in the store-rooms at Mr. Bouligny's warehouse, whereupon Adam told him that on the day Mr. Brion inspected the tobacco delivered by Mr. Ellis to Mr. Daunoy he saw it and that the former questioned him if the quality seemed good, but he answered it was worthless as it had not been cut in season, that is without being ripe, and if he had been commissioned to receive it he would refuse because it was not worth anything, as he had already said. Daunoy had bought for Macarty, on the latter's advice, and had the tobacco examined; it must have been spoiled then and in no condition to be shipped by sea.

It was examined the day following and found to be in the state Adam said it was. Mr. Ellis was asked to go to the storerooms to see the condition of the tobacco, and having seen and examined it said there was nothing to be done about the matter because when it was sold and delivered to Mr. Macarty it was up to him to take care of it. However the latter told him the examiner had looked over the tobacco before and found it very inferior. He should not take advantage of Mr. Brion's ignorance, or neglect, and of Mr. Daunoy's good faith to sell bad tobacco for good at the rate of 9½ sols a pound. Ellis would not enter into any agreement although several propositions were made to him, such as to compromise by turning the case over to arbitrators. For this reason the petitioner warned him that judicial proceedings would be taken to obtain restitution of the tobacco. After many days had passed he presumed Ellis would propose some compromise, or agree to arbitration. In the interval he further questioned him, in the presence of witnesses, if he would buy the tobacco should it conform to Mr. Brion's report after examination. He answered: "No, but this was not the reason why Mr. Brion should not perform the necessary labor to do things as they should be done." Upon seeing that in no way could be be induced to come to an agreement to take it back, Macarty loaded it as freight for his account on board his ship sailing for London, making over to him the insurance, rights of profit and all other imaginary advantages, but would never consent to do what he was obligated to do according to a verbal decision rendered by Alcalde Panis in the matter, in whose presence he again proposed to Ellis that even though he returned him his tobacco it would be on condition that it be replaced at the first harvest. He would not consent to this plan either, all of which goes to show his bad faith, and he continued to consider it commendable to approve of Mr. Brion's ignorance and to take advantage of the good faith and confidence of the purchaser.

Mr. Ellis can not be so bold as to refuse to receive the tobacco in Alcalde Panis' presence, since it was purchased with Mr. Brion's approval, unless his examination was without any legal formality, principally when he is condemned and will be condemned in the necessary case, therefore he is assured of the truth.

The laws can not authorize sales of this kind where there is deception and malice, therefore it is evident that Ellis was sure and certain of the poor quality of the tobacco, and if he was not why did he not accept a proposition so advantageous as the one made to him.

The question to decide without further costs is this: Was the tobacco originally bad because of poor harvesting, or other reasons, or if it had spoiled in the warehouse where it was stored for four months? For this purpose he petitions the Court to name experts, for its examination, or to have Mr. Ellis name two for himself, while he, Macarty, will do likewise. Panis orders this petition sent to Juan Ellis.

Broutin, attorney for Ellis, answers.

After some delay, at which Macarty lodges a complaint, Francisco Broutin presents a certified copy

of a notarial act appointing him to represent Juan Ellis of Natchez and in the name of his client sets forth: In merits of justice his opponent's demands should be excluded and he condemned to pay all costs caused or to be caused because these said demands are unfounded, erroneous and without precedent, reason. or justice. He is not willing to be included in the two thousand pesos which he says he lent to Strother; this is a transaction of his own and does not concern him. He will answer the subject matter as suitable and according to his opponent's written petition.

When he sold his tobacco to Mr. Daunoy, for Mr. Macarty's account, it was without fraud or deception and with all the necessary formalities required by commercial usage. His opponent condemns himself when he says Mr. Daunoy asked Renalto

Brion to examine the tobacco. There is no one who could have made a better examination, because he is Receiver General for His Majesty for all Tobacco of this Province, has held this office for many years, and up until now neither the King, nor any private person, has made any complaint against him in the execution of his duties, nor has he ever been charged with ignorance, or negligence; on the contrary, he is known to be a very intelligent man, experienced in the examination of tobacco, as is publicly and generally known. It is not a question whether Brion made inspection badly, or well, it is of his competence, only, that he wishes to treat, because it is certain that Brion is known to all as an honest man incapable of favoring one party to the prejudice of another; therefore Alcalde Panis will see clearly there is no deception, nor malice on Mr. Ellis' part. It was Daunoy who named him, and after the examination received the hogsheads, then left them, or a part of them, in the street in front of Mr. Bouligny's house for a week exposed to the rain which caused the tobacco to spoil. It was afterwards that he opened the others that had been placed under the gallery at Mr. Bouligny's house where it was very damp; later they put the hogsheads in the storerooms that are not boarded up and are exceedingly damp, which is most detrimental to tobacco. To prove the tobacco was good, the first boat to come down here was loaded with the same tobacco of the same quality and crop and was sold to Mr. Augustin, who lives in Narciso de Alba's house, at the rate of 9 sols a pound. This was after Mr. Brion had made his examination.

The two hogsheads his opponent says Mr. Duralde, a resident of Opelousas, proposed to him to take, of the same harvest that Mr. Ellis' steward delivered to him to sell, were of the third and last cut, which makes a great difference, because the first cut is the best, the second is good and the third is the worst, although it is often very good as well as the first two. He thinks the tobacco was good, of a good quality, and that it must have spoiled through negligence on the part of his steward, or on the voyage from Opelousas to this city, through the negligence of the rowers who were in Mr. Duralde's boat.

With regard to the two other hogsheads that he says Mr. Ellis' brother brought down to the city, which were found to be useless, this is the pure truth, but he will make it clear how this defect originated:

These two hogsheads were good and in the best condition in the beginning, and his brother paid 8 pesos freight charges for each, but the owner who had loaded them on his boat to bring them here without any delay, left the hogsheads on the river bank for about eight days exposed to the rains, which

caused the tobacco to rot. His brother wrote that had he known this, he would not have given 16 pesos to bring down two hogsheads of spoiled tobacco.

Mr. Ellis does not understand anything of what has been said by Mr. Macarty in his petition, namely: That inspector Adam was present when Mr. Brion examined the tobacco; "I asked him if the tobacco was of good quality and he answered me, 'It is worthless.'" Such statements are untrue, because Adam is nothing more than a negro slave belonging to Santiago Mather. What he says does not settle anything, and he should not be placed in comparison with himself. much less with Mr. Brion. Mr. Macarty further says: The following day he examined the tobacco and found it in the same condition as Adam had stated. He then asked Ellis to go to the warehouse to see the condition of the tobacco, but the latter answered that he had nothing more to do with the matter, as he had sold and delivered the tobacco to him. Supposing all that Mr. Macarty has said is true, who will believe that an examination made by a negro would have any weight against a person like Mr. Brion, appointed by His Majesty for this purpose and paid for his services? When Mr. Macarty saw that Mr. Ellis refused to accept his propositions, and being assured of the bad condition of the tobacco, immediately after the examination made by Mr. Brion and before it had been left for many days in the street exposed to the weather, or the chance of being stolen, and prior to plac-ing it in a damp store-room, he presented himself judicially against Ellis and in a written petition explained his prejudices, asking another examination. For this purpose Macarty himself, naming one or two experts to be present during the inspection, suggesting that his opponent, too, should name his, and if there should be any opposition on the part of the latter, the Judge would order an examination, naming experts officially for Ellis; but none of these requested formalities are according to law, right, usage, or customs of commerce.

A proof that Mr. Ellis' tobacco was of good quality is that Santiago Mather wished to buy it and that Mr. Augustin also asked for a preference at the same price. It is true Mr. Macarty made various propositions, among them to submit to arbitration, but he would not consent to any of these suggestions because it seemed to him that Macarty considered him a dunce, fool, or stupid, for the latter to think he alone had the power to transgress the laws, usages and customs of the commerce of all Nations, demanding he take back the tobacco upon the examination of the negro, Adam, alone, and this three or four months subsequent to delivery and after it had been exposed to the four elements for days, besides having been stored in a warehouse that was not well boarded up, and in the place of proper en-

closure some fence rails had been placed over the ground, which did not prevent dampness, and it takes very little dampness to rot tobacco. If Macarty's demands were justifiable, commerce would cease because merchants would be ruined if after they had sold and delivered their merchandise and completed the transaction they were obliged to take back their goods, which in many cases had been damaged through the negligence of the purchaser, thus losing the sale of their merchandise. It is certain that when goods have gone out of a shop and have been received and paid for, there is no redress and they can not be returned. Panis orders this petition sent to Juan B. Macarty.

Macarty appoints Rodriguez his attorney.

This is followed by a certified copy of a Notarial Act by which Juan B. Macarty appoints Fernan-

Juan B. Macarty appoints Fernando Rodriguez as his special attorney. This act is presented, and Rodriguez, in the name of his client, asks for the records of the case. Petition granted. In a second request he says what he has set forth in his petition on page 6 is the truth, and in accordance with it he asks the Court to rule as he has plead. Panis orders this sent to the opposition.

Broutin answers for his client.

Broutin acting for Ellis states that in no country in the world is a merchant who has sold and delivered his goods to another, be it of good quality, or bad, called upon to take it back after three or four months. If such was the case all commerce would be insecure. Macarty must not ignore the fact that commerce has its laws, rights and customs, which are sacred and must be observed and maintained by its princes. Referring to his foregoing petition, he asks to have his opponent's demands excluded and he condemned to pay costs because of his very unjust requests. Alcalde Jacinto Panis orders this case to go on trial within nine common days during which time the parties must prove, allege and justify the charges one brings against the other.

Juan B. Macarty's proofs come first. He asks to reproduce his petitions of pages 3, 6 and 13. and everything else favorable to his cause. Panis rules accordingly. He then asks to have William Strother ordered to declare under oath if it is not true that the day Ellis was with him, Macarty, so as to examine the tobacco, the latter told the former it was spoiled. This was said in the presence of the negro, Adam, who said to Mr. Ellis: "You were not willing to believe me the day Mr. Brion examined this same tobacco, because then I told you it could not last, as it was cut in the wrong season. This was after you had questioned me as to what I thought of its quality." And done, he will add this declaration to his proofs. Petition granted, and William

Strother declares under oath on the Holy Evangelists, because he is a Protestant, that the foregoing statement is true in all its contents.

Mr. Macarty presents an interrogatorio.

Mr. Macarty then propounds four questions to be answered by Santiago Mather, Mr. Davis and

## Mr. Campbell:

1st Q. Is the negro, Adam, a truthful man, known to be skillful in harvesting tobacco?

2nd Q. Do they know, and is it not evident to them that the above said is about 60 years of age and that in Virginia he had no other occupation but that of a planter and harvester of tobacco, so for this reason has a better knowledge of it than anyone else in the city?

3rd Q. Do they know, and is it not evident to them, that since Adam came to this Province he has had no other occupation except to work in tobacco, opening hogsheads and separating the good from the bad, and because of his great knowledge has always been called in preference to any other?

4th Q. Is this not publicly and generally known?

John Campbell takes oath on the Holy Evangelists, because he is a Protestant and believes in the Bible. He answers through Juan Josef Duforest, as follows:

1st A. Yes he knows Adam to be a truthful man, very skillful in harvesting tobacco.

2nd A. This is true in all its contents.

3rd A. It is true that since Adam arrived in this Province he has held no other office than to work in tobacco, opening hogsheads and separating the good tobacco from the bad, and he has always been preferred to anyone else.

4th A. This is all publicly and generally known.

Juan Davis is away on his plantation, so it is necessary to cite him to appear to answer the interrogatorio. When he arrives he answers through interpreter Duforest, as follows:

1st A. Yes he knows Adam to be a truthful man, very experienced in harvesting tobacco.

2nd A. This is true in all its contents.

3rd A. It is true that since Adam arrived in this Province he has had no other occupation but working in tobacco, opening hogsheads and separating the good tobacco from the bad, and because of his great knowledge in handling tobacco he has been preferred to all others.

4th A. He knows the aforesaid negro to be generally and pub-

licly known for his good reputation.

Juan Bautista Macarty then asks to have the tobacco examined by experts named by the Court, who will declare if the crop was cut in a good season and if its loss proceeded from the place in which it was stored or from the said bad harvesting, and done, with citation to the other parties, let it be placed with his proofs. Panis orders this sent to the opposition.

Mr. Ellis answers, refusing to consent to Mr. Macarty's demands for reexamination and a redecision from the one made by Renalto Brion, Receiver General for the King for all tobacco of this Province, and as he was named by Nicolas Daunoy, acting for Macarty, it is impossible seven months after he has received the tobacco to have the examination he asks. Besides, this cause has gone on trial so as to ascertain whether or not he has the right to return the tobacco after such a long time, and if this is according to the usages and customs of commerce. Therefore he prays to have his pretentions excluded and to declare his demands without place, considering the case is now on trial and he can not be permitted to enter so unfounded a request. Alcalde Panis orders this sent to the opposition.

Mr. Macarty says he has many times asked for an examination of the tobacco, notably in his lest written petition, which was sent to Mr. Ellis and reurned by him with frivolous pretexts refusing the said examination, and although this act is not injurious to anyone of the parties, if only to explain the truth he prays to have an examination ordered made by those the Court considers capable for this purpose and have it done in the manner he has petitioned. Panis rules: Let these parties be notified to name experts for the examination, each one for himself, as petitioned.

Naming of experts and Carriere, and Mr. Ellis names Santiago Lorreins called Tarascon, as examiners of the spoiled tobacco. Both are accepted by the Court and qualify. Macarty says that since the two experts are not sufficient, and the litigants have been ordered to name two more, he appoints as his second Pierre Marchand. Ellis names Antonio Marmillion. These two gentlemen are acceptable; they are notified and qualify. The four experts turn in the following report, which they make after due examination of the hogsheads of tobacco in storage at Mr. Bouligny's house. This examination is made in the presence of Alcalde Panis, Escribano Mazange, Francisco Broutin representing Juan Ellis, Fernando Rodriguez attorney for Juan B. Macarty, and the four experts, Francisco Carriere, Pedro Marchand, Antonio Mermillion and Santiago Tarascon. They first opened a hogshead marked:

No. 1. The contents was of a third cut, entirely unserviceable, as it had spoiled as a result of the dampness to which it had been exposed.

No. 2. In the beginning the contents of this hogshead was of good quality, but it is now spoiled through dampness.

No. 3. Of the 2nd and 3rd cut, spoiled, as it was put in the hogshead when very damp.

No. 4. Of good quality in the beginning, but now ruined because of the rains to which it has been exposed.

No. 5. Mixed, 1st, 2nd and 3rd cuts, mouldy, and entirely spoiled from dampness.

No. 6. Good in the beginning, but now entirely spoiled by rain and dampness.

No. 7. Originally good, but now spoiled by rain and dampness.

No. 8. A little mixed, of different cuts, spoiled by rain.

Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12, good in the beginning, but spoiled by rain.

No. 13. Mixed, and spoiled by the rain.

Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 were good in the beginning, but have been spoiled by rain.

No. 19. Good, but a little damaged by bad weather.

No. 20. Mixed, of different cuts, the greater part spoiled by rain.

No. 21. Good in the beginning, but spoiled by rain. Nos. 22 and 23 in a like condition.

Macarty petitions to sell the tobacco

Mr. Macarty asks to sell the tobacco at public auction before it becomes a total loss, which would

be detrimental to both parties. Mr. Ellis agrees to the sale. Petition granted. The three calls are made on August 22, 26 and 29, and upon Macarty's request the auction is held on September 3 and 4, of the 23 hogsheads of damaged tobacco. No bids were offered.

Macarty asks to change place of storage.

Mr. Macarty says he is paying 20 pesos a month storage charges on the tobacco, which is very

prejudicial to him, therefore he asks permission to transfer it to another place where the rent is lower. This request is ordered sent to the apposition. Nothing further is done, for the present, regarding the storage of the tobacco. The trial of the case is resumed, after an interruption of some weeks, when Mr. Macarty asks for a ten days' delay. He presents an additional petition praying for a despatch to be issued and sent to the Commander of the Posts of Opelousas and Atakapas, Alexandro De Clouet, authorizing him to receive a declaration from Mr. Ellis' steward, as it has come to his notice that the tobacco he sold to Macarty was the same the said steward turned over to Ellis in a settlement of accounts, or adjustment, and when the latter saw the bad quality of the tobacco it was entered in his

account at the rate of 3 sols a pound. He has also heard that just as soon as Mr. Ellis loaded this said tobacco on the boat to ship it to the city, for his account, it happened that because of low water they had to unload the tobacco on Bayou Opelousas, where it stood on land exposed to the rain and inclemency of the weather for more than two months. Therefore he prays to have the Commander ordered to receive the testimony of the witnesses he will present, who will be examined upon this particular, and done, all documents will be remitted closed and sealed to the present escribano to be attached to his proofs. Alcalde Panis rules: Let a despatch be issued in due form to the Commander at Opelousas and Atakapas, Alexandro De Clouet, with an enclosure of this petition and its decree, so that upon seeing it he may take the declarations as petitioned, requesting for its fulfillment the help of the Governor General of this Province. A marginal note says the despatch that was ordered has been issued.

Interrogatorios presented by J. B. Macarty.

Mr. Macarty presents two interrogatorios, the first of six questions to be answered by Mr. Du-

ralde. The second contains two questions to be answered by Mr. Ellis' steward. As these questions are repeated later with their answers, they will appear in due course with the testimony sent by Commander De Clouet. He further sets forth that he needs the testimony of several persons living at the Post of Natchez, who must declare before the Commander there upon several particulars indispensable to him. Alcalde Panis rules: As it is prayed.

Testimony from Atakapas in favor of Macarty.

Proofs in favor of Juan B. Macarty remitted from the Post of Atakapas. The first is a letter

from Chevalier De Clouet, dated Atakapas, November 7, 1782, and directed to Mr. Mazange, Notary Royal at New Orleans. It accompanies the depositions taken there, and states that all have been closed and sealed as requested. These depositions are as follows:

- 1st. Charles Percy says that he was named to appraise John Ellis' crop of tobacco. He examined it and found it of bad quality and not worth more than 3 sols a pound. It was sent to the Indian Village in hogsheads, exposed to damages from the weather for many months. He does not know the name of this deserted place, but the tobacco was assigned to one named Edward Charles, steward of the said Juan Ellis at the same price he had appraised it, namely 3 sols a pound, for his share; this said part was left with Mr. Ellis in payment for what Charles owed him.
- 2nd. Luke Collins declares that he was appointed to settle accounts between John Ellis and his steward, Edward Charles,

and to appraise the tobacco crop of the former, which was to be used to pay the salary of the latter, and considering its poor quality he appraised it at 3 sols a pound. This said tobacco was in hogsheads and had been for many months in an Indian village, exposed to damages from the weather, and as it was not covered it was also likely to be stolen. The tobacco reverted to Mr. Ellis in payment of what was due him by Mr. Carlos, although the former found the price, at which it had been valued, too dear considering its poor quality.

3rd. Jean Grandenego states that he was officially named to appraise some tobacco in bundles belonging to Mr. Ellis' crop. He found it to be of poor quality and valued it at 3 sols a pound. It was assigned at this price to Edward Charles, Mr. Ellis' steward, for his share, which he kept in payment of what was due him by Charles. The tobacco was in hogsheads without any covering in an Indian village for many months, exposed to damages from the weather.

4th. Martin Duralde declares that he was officially named to settle accounts between John Ellis and his steward, Edward Charles, which were in litigation. He appraised the tobacco which was to come to the latter for his salary, or share of the crop of the year before. He knew that for many months the tobacco had been exposed to all the influences of the weather and also that the season in which it had been cut may have caused its poor quality; besides, copious rains have fallen during the time it remained on the banks of the bayou. Therefore he, jointly with the other experts, valued it at 3 sols a pound. Mr. Ellis kept it for his account, so as to make payment in part for a larger amount Charles owes him.

Martin Duralde then answers the interrogatorio, as follows:

- 1st. Q. Did he not offer Mr. Macarty two hogsheads of tobacco from Mr. John Ellis' crop at Opelousas?
  - A. Yes this is true.
- 2nd. Q. Were not the two hogsheads of tobacco delivered by Mr. Ellis' steward to be sold for his account?
  - A. Yes this is true.
- 3rd. Q. Before the hogsheads were received in Opelousas, were they not exposed for eight days to the inclemencies of rain and sun?
  - A. He found the two hogsheads of tobacco on the banks of the river, or bayou, because of agreement that they must be delivered to him there. He does not know how long they had been in that place, but according to what he thinks they must have been there two or three days, because the steward from whom he was to receive them

assured him eight or ten days before that the tobacco was good and would be delivered at the abovesaid place.

- 4th. Q. Is it not true that just as soon as he offered them to Mr. Macarty the latter had them examined by the examiner for the merchants, named Adam, according to custom?
  - A. Yes this is true.
  - 5th. Q. Is it not true that the inspector turned back the greater part of the tobacco and said the best could pass?
    - A. Yes this is true.
  - 6th. Q. Is it not true that Macarty, having rendered an account to him of what had happened Duralde could not believe it because it seemed to him impossible that the tobacco was so bad, so he had two arbitrators, manufacturers of snuff, named Messrs. Carriere and Marchand, to come, and that they, after examining the said tobacco, told Duralde it was worth nothing?
    - A. The two arbitrators told him they would not take it for his account because it was spoiled and over-heated. They reserved one barrel, no more, which they judged, at sight, to be passable.

Edward Charles, John Ellis' steward, answers the two questions put to him, in this manner:

- 1st. Q. Is it true that he transmitted to Mr. Duralde two hogsheads of tobacco for him to sell in New Orleans?
  - A. This is true.
- 2nd. Q. Is it true that the two hogsheads of tobacco were of the same crop made by Ellis at Opelousas?
  - A. He received the two hogsheads of tobacco as coming from last years crop, but he thinks it was from the one of the year before.

He further declared it was due him by Ellis for his share and was assigned to him by the arbitrators under the agreement of 3 sols a pound, considering the bad quality of the tobacco, and that same tobacco was turned over to Mr. Ellis in payment of what he, Charles, owed him. It had remained in the Indian village, without covering, although, it was packed in hogsheads, for the space of five months, more or less.

Translation into Spanish of the foregoing French documents.

These documents having arrived from Opelousas closed and sealed, Juan B. Macarty asks to have

them translated from French into Spanish. Petition granted, Alcalde Panis orders Pedro Bertoniere to make the translation, which runs from page 92 to 101. Then Macarty asks to have Messrs. Carriere and Marchand, experts manufacturers of snuff,

make declarations upon the examination made by them of the two hogsheads of tobacco brought to the city from Opelousas by Mr. Duralde, that Macarty having inspected found the greater part spoiled. And done, file their sworn statements with his proofs. Panis rules accordingly.

Mr. Carriere's declaration.

Juan Carriere declares he was not appointed to examine the tobacco, but that it is true he saw Mr. Macarty separate the good from the bad and that Mr. Duralde threw into the water the part Mr. Macarty would not receive because it was spoiled.

Mr. Macarty again petitions, this time asking to have the experts who recently examined the tobacco swear and declare if the decay was caused by the dampness of the warehouse in which it was stored, or if it was brought about because of having become wet before it was placed there. Let them also declare as to all the other particulars they have set down in the proceedings for inspection, and done, file with his proofs. Petition granted.

Declarations of the experts.

Pedro Marchand, Santiago Tarascon, Antonio Marmillon and Juan Carriere, each in a separate statement, sets forth that they refer to the proceedings for the examination of the tobacco made by them, because therein is explained what is the truth.

Letters from Mr. De Clouet.

Filed after these declarations are three letters from Chevalier De Clouet to Mr. Macarty. The first is dated Opelousas, September 20, 1782, and reads: At the time Mr. Ellis paid his steward his salary in tobacco, considering its poor quality it was appraised at 3 sols a pound, and that it was later sent to the city to be sold for Ellis' account.

The second bears no date and deals with Mr. Ellis' unjust proceedings. He, like his entire family, has always managed his affairs badly and pays his creditors with difficulty. The writer received Mr. Macarty's letter just as Mr. Hilaire Boutte left this Post, so he can only notify him that he received it.

The third letter, dated October 6, 1782, reads, in part: The writer takes this occasion to send Mr. Mazange the papers relative to the wrongs done Macarty by Ellis in sending him such poor tobacco. He does not think the latter will pay the fees due here, and notifies the former that he, De Clouet, has paid the Notary 12 pesos for writing these documents.

Macarty asks to have these three letters translated from French into Spanish and filed with his proofs. This is done by Pedro Bertoniere. The Macarty proofs end here.

Francisco Broutin, acting for Proofs presented for John Ellis. Juan Ellis, presents his client's proofs. He propounds seven questions, which he asks to have answered by Nicolas Daunoy:

1st Q. Did Guillermo Strother sell him, for Mr. Macarty's account, in January of the present year, 23 hogsheads of tobacco belonging to Mr. Ellis?

A. Yes.

2nd Q. Did Don Nicolas (Daunoy) direct Renaldo Brion, Receiver General and Inspector General of tobacco for this Province, to inspect the crop and to examine the to-A. Yes.

3rd Q. When Brion examined it, did he find it of good quality?

A. Yes.

4th Q. How many days were the hogsheads left on the street before being put into the warehouse?

A. This question is false in its contents, none of the hogs-

heads were left on the street.

- 5th Q. During the interval that they were left on the street, did it rain?
  - A. This was answered in the foregoing, the question is entirely false in its contents.
- 6th Q. How long were the hogsheads left under the gallery of Francisco Bouligny's place without being warehoused?

A. Three of the hogsheads were left under the gallery at Francisco Bouligny's, they remained there until Mr. Macarty's return to the city.

7th Q. Is Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Bouligny's warehouse, where the tobacco was stored, enclosed with boards, or stakes, and are the said boards, or stakes, nailed, are they well joined together, and how many feet from the

ground is the floor raised?

A. The floors of the storerooms in question are covered with boards. These the declarer put there himself.

Broutin presents a second questionaire, this one to be answered by Renaldo Brion:

1st Q. Is it true that he was appointed by the King and for many years has been Receiver General and Inspector General of tobacco for this Province?

A. Yes, this is true in all its contents.

2nd Q. In the first days of January of this present year did Nicolas Daunoy ask him, Brion, to examine 23 hogsheads of tobacco that Ellis sold him for Macarty's ac-

A. Yes, this is also true in all its contents.

- 3rd Q. Is it not true that he inspected all the tobacco, smelt and touched it, and found it to be of good quality, salable and marketable?
  - A. This is true in its contents.
- 4th Q. Did he not also examine another lot of tobacco sold to Agoustino Llorins, who lives in Narciso de Alba's house, from the same crop and of the same quality as that he sold to Daunoy, and that it was found to be good and of the best quality?

A. Yes, this is also true.

A third interrogatorio is presented to be answered by Francisco Bouligny:

- 1st Q. Are the vaults he rented to Nicolas Daunoy to store the tobacco he bought for Mr. Macarty's account, enclosed with boards, or stakes?
  - A. The vault he rented to Mr. Daunoy was not covered with boards, he was given some stakes to put under the hogsheads.
- 2nd Q. Were the boards, or stakes, nailed, and were they joined together well?
  - A. He refers to what he has already said.
- 3rd Q. How many feet, more or less, was the floor of the vaults raised from the ground by the use of boards, or stakes?
  - A. He refers them to what he has already said.
- 4th Q. Did several hogsheads of tobacco remain under his gallery exposed to the rain?
  - A. Yes, some of the hogsheads remained under the gallery before they were placed in the storerooms.
- 5th Q. During this past winter did he see many hogsheads filled with tobacco that had been left in the street in front of the vaults for many days exposed to the rains and the four elements, and that it rained on top of the hogsheads?

A. He knows nothing of the contents of this question.

List of questions presented to be answered by Andres Jung and one named Canon:

- 1st Q. Are they neighbors of Lieutenant Colonel Francisco de Bouligny?
  - A. Messrs. Jung and Canon answer, yes.
- 2nd Q. Last winter did they see many hogsheads filled with tobacco in front of Bouligny's store-rooms?
  - A. Both witnesses say, yes.

- 3rd Q. Did the said hogsheads not remain for some weeks in the street which was very muddy?
  - A. They refer to what they have already said.
- 4th Q. Did they not see it rain, for many days, on top of the hogsheads during the time they remained in the street?

  A. Both refer to what they have said.

## Questionaire to be answered by Juan B. Macarty:

- 1st Q. What day did he arrive in this city, returning from London, and in his last voyage did he go to Hayana?
  - London, and in his last voyage did he go to Havana?

    A. He did not go to London, but he did make a trip to Havana and returned to this capital from there in March, 1782.
- 2nd Q. The day after his arrival in this city did he make an examination of the 23 hogsheads of tobacco?
  - A. He examined the hogsheads in question a few days after his return.
- 3rd Q. How many hogsheads of tobacco did he find under Bouligny's gallery?
  - A. He found only one.
- 4th Q. Are Bouligny's storerooms where he found the tobacco enclosed with boards or stakes?
  - A. The storerooms mentioned have no boards, but some were put there by Daunoy.
- 5th Q. Were the boards, or stakes, well joined together and were they nailed?
  - A. He has never observed what is contained in this question.
- 6th Q. How many feet, more or less, is the warehouse floor from the ground, and is the elevation made by the boards, or stakes?
  - A. He never has measured the distance from the ground of the board flooring included in this question.

Interrogatorio to be answered by Juan Durel, Antonio Boudousquie, Miguel Fortier, Narciso de Alba, Juan Bautista Poeyfarre and Salomon Mallines, all merchants of this city:

- 1st Q. Is it not true that in accordance with usage and customs and in conformity to law and the ordinances of commerce, that when a merchant sells merchandise to another person and the purchaser takes the goods to his house and pays for them he can not force the merchant who has sold to him to take them back?
  - A. All six witnesses answer in the affirmative.
- 2nd Q. Is it not true that when a merchant, or any person has sold to another some merchandise, or effects such as sugar, salt, wine, tobacco, etc., and the purchaser has

kept them in his possession some three or four months they can not be returned to the one who has sold them because the said effects have spoiled, or been damaged, and that it is contrary to law, ordinances, uses and customs of commerce to make such a demand?

A. The six witnesses answer this is true in all its contents.

Power of Attorney. The questioning of Mr. Ellis' witnesses is followed by a certified copy of a Notarial Act, dated New Orleans, March 26, 1700, by which Santiago Ellis, a resident of Opelousas, in his own name and as empowered by his father Ricardo (Juan?) Ellis, grants his power of attorney to Francisco Broutin, Procurador Publico del Numero, of this city, to represent them in the suit prosecuted against them by Juan Bautista Macarty in the Court of Senior Alcalde Joseph Le Breton.

Juan Bautista Macarty and Litigants agree to compromise. Francisco Broutin, the latter acting for Santiago and Juan Ellis, father and son, associated in partnership in a company in Opelousas, state that a suit is being prosecuted among them over some spoiled tobacco. The case has gone on trial and the time for receiving evidence is long past, yet neither side has asked for a publication of the proofs, in accordance with which, and in order to avoid many inconveniences that they have suffered during litigation, both sides have agreed to adjust their differences under certain conditions. Therefore they pray the Court to order these proceedings annulled and cancelled and of no value nor effect, and to command the present escribano to draw us the necessary act of adjustment ander the conditions they will set down for this purpose. Alcalde Le Bretton rules accordingly.

The act of adjustment is dated The act of adjustment. April 29, 1783, and is drawn up by Fernando Rodriguez. It stipulates that Juan Bautista Macarty and Francisco Broutin, acting for Santiago and Recardo Ellis, father and son, in partnership, residents of Opelousas, have come to an agreement so as to adjust their differences in a law suit prosecuted by the former against the latter. The terms of the agreement are that Messrs. Ellis will pay the costs of this case, besides 1781 pesos and will also take back the spoiled tobacco which they sold to Mr. Macarty as of good quality. The latter acknowledges to have received the money and hereby receipts for it. Messrs. Ellis declare they have received the tobacco. The escribano certifies that the above said transactions have taken place because they were executed in his presence. Both parties agree that the foregoing proceedings (covering both sides of 156 sheets of paper) are of no value nor

effect. A marginal note signed by Rodriguez states that neither the original nor the copy of the adjustment have been paid for, because it is agreed in it that Mr. Ellis will pay for both; therefore a taxation of costs must be made for his fees.

Broutin asks for a taxation of costs.

Broutin petitions for a taxation of costs. Alcalde Francisco Joseph Le Breton orders this taxation

made by Luis Lioteaud, who must first be notified so as to accept and take oath. Lioteaud qualifies, but a taxation, if ever made, is not filed with the suit which ends here.

May 3.

Pedro Langlish, a free mulatto, vs. Maria, a free negress.

No. 3427. 11 pp. Court of Governor Esteban Miro and Alcalde Jacinto Panis.

Assessor, Juan del Postigo. Escribano, Leonardo Mazange. To evict her from a house she wrongfully occupies.

This suit, involving a property dispute between a free mulatto and a free negress, relatives, is interesting to the student of Louisiana law on account of the legal standing of such free persons of color in Spanish Louisiana. It is of interest to the historian for the light it throws upon the social conditions of the time.

Copy of the obligation.

The plaintiff, acting for his wife, Adelaide, petitions, saying it is convenient to their rights to have the present escibano give a certified copy of an obligation authorized by Juan Bautista Horry, his wife's first husband, in favor of his mother, Angelica, and done, deliver it to him. In a second petition he asks the Court to observe that Angelica, against law and reason and only on the pretext of being Horry's mother, put a negress, Maria, in possession of the house and lot belonging to her son, in prejudice to his minor son. Miro rules: As it is prayed.

The certified copy of the obligation, dated New Orleans, Febru-

ary 8, 1777, is to the effect that Juan Bautista Horry, a free mulatto, asknowledges to have received 200 hard pesos from his mother, Rosa Angelica, as a loan for which he authorizes a formal receipt and constitutes himself a liquid debtor for this amount which he will repay to his mother, or her agent, in four years from date.

Private act of sale.

The next entry is a French private act of sale, dated November 20, 1766. It is written on a sheet of letter paper and reads: The undersigned Raguet acknowleges to have sold Jean Baptiste, a franchised negro, a lot of ground 60 feet front by 120 deep, adjoined on one side by Mr. Pechon and on the other by the yendor and across from Mr. de la Ronde. On this lot there

is a house 20 feet wide by 48 long, which is sold for 2000 livres of which 600 livres were paid in cash, the rest to be paid in 1767. Raguet obligates himself to have an act of sale passed before a Notary. This obligation is made in duplicate. It is followed by the figuring showing where the various amounts were paid in 1767, until the debt is extinguished. In New Orleans, on October 29, 1781, Raguet declares he has received 595 livres, the remainder of the amount due him, which was handed to him by Mr. de La Chapelle, on account for Baptiste.

Pedro Langlish, a free mulatto, Pedro Langlish petitions. again petitions, saying it is contrary to law and equity for Maria to be put in possession of the house and lot left by Horry, which this day should belong to his minor son, (by his marriage to Adelaide, now Langlish's wife,) as is evident by the act of sale duly presented, which was passed during the French Domination, according to the usages and customs of that time, and as this was a true disposal according to law, he prays to have restitution made, and since then in the interregnum he reserves to himself the right to ask for rent, damages, injuries, prejudices, etc., and to have Maria ordered to leave the house and land immediately and to restore to his wife and her minor son the real property wrongfully alienated, considering his opponent possesses it on the frivolous pretext that she is Angelica's heiress, which is absurd. He further petitions; saying the only thing her heirs can give to substantiate the claim is an obligation presented on page 3, authorized by Horry in favor of his mother, drawn up two or three days before he died, by which he acknowledges a debt to her. Governor Miro, on Postigo's advice, rules: The free negress, Maria, must give up, restore and turn over within one day to Langlishe, acting for his wife and step-son, the house and lot left by Bautista Horry, as appears from the document presented, with a warning of what will have place in law. However Horry's succession must be held responsible for the sum of 200 pesos, as it is evident he owed this amount to his mother.

Mazange records that he went to the house left by Angelica, at her death, to notify her grand-daughter, Maria, of the foregoing decree, and was informed that she had left the city, so he sets this down as a matter of record. He further states that there appeared before him a free mulatto, named Juan B. Hugon, who said he was curator ad bono for the free negress, Maria, a grand-daughter of the deceased Angelica. He exhibited the keys that he was ordered to give up in the name of the minor, according to Governor Miro's ruling and in testimony whereof Mazange also sets this down as a matter of record. He further stipulates that Pedro Langlishe exhibited the 200 pesos,

which according to the foregoing decree he had been ordered to deliver as belonging to the succession of Angelica. A note specifies that Mazange took charge and delivered the keys of the house as directed by the decree.

Juan B. Hugon, a free mulatto, Juan B. Hugon petitions. petitions, saying he has been notified of a decree, very prejudicial to his minor, to restore a house and lot to Pedro Langlishe, therefore he asks to have the records of the case delivered to him so he may answer the suit. Panis, on Postigo's advice, rules: Let them be delivered to him. This ends the record.

May 10.

Maria, a slave belonging to the succession of Francisca Plazan, petitions to claim her freedom.

No. 28. 7 pp.

Court of Alcalde Guido Dufossat. No Assessor. Escribano, Andres Almonester.

This suit is of interest to the student of Louisiana law as showing the procedure involved in the purchase of her freedom by a slave, and the manner of arriving at her value and the price she should pay for her free-dom, as well as for the act of eman-cipation which is drawn up by the Court. It is of interest to the historian for the light it throws on the social conditions of the time.-W. P.

transaction, as this appraisement was made some time ago. He asks to have a new valuatified so she may name her appraiser.

tion made by experts, naming Pedro Cowley to act for him. Alcalde Dufossat rules accordingly, ordering the other party no-

Maria, a slave belonging to the succession of Francisco Plazan, Widow Prevost, sets forth that in the inventory and appraisement of this estate it appears she was valued by public experts at 600 pesos, in accordance with which, using the faculties conceded to her by law, she exhibits the amount of money and prays to have Juan B. Mercier, the testamentary executor of the estate, draw up her act of emancipation. Dufossat orders this sent to Mr. Mercier.

Juan B. Mercier answers, say-

ing the slave was etimated at

that price but a public sale should be held so as to adjudicate her to the highest bidder, so that he may

never be held responsible for the

In the meantime Pedro Cowley is notified and qualifies. Maria appoints Josef de Llaner. He is accepted by the Court; after notification, he also qualifies. The appraisement is made by these two experts at 800 pesos. Maria then asks permission to exhibit this amount, and that Juan B. Mercier be ordered to draw up her act of emancipation. Guido Dufossat decrees: The present escribano having exhibited the money, let him certify to its numeration and notify Juan Bautista Mercier, so that he may draw up the act of emancipation for the negress, Maria, belonging to the late Francisca Plazan's estate.

The exhibition: Andres Almonester certifies that Maria, the negress, exhibited 800 pesos, saying it was the sum at which she had been appraised, in testimony whereof he sets this down as a matter of record. This ends the proceeding.

May 10.

Francisco de Sales Bodaille petitions for testimony concerning various purchases made for the fitting out of the Brigantine, "The San Juan Bautista."

No. 9. 8 pp.

Court of Intendant Navarro. No Assessor.

Escribano,

Andres Almonester.

This suit is of interest to the historian, chiefly because of the light it throws upon the equipment necessary for a ship in the days of the Spanish domination in Louisiana.

—W. P.

The first entry seems to be a bill for purchases made to fit out the ship. This is followed by a petition presented by Francisco de Sales Bodaille, to call witnesses to testify as to whether or not they had sold him the useful parts and instruments itemized in the bill. Intendant General Martin Navarro rules: Let the witnesses be called to testify in accordance with the above request, and done, let their declarations be returned to the Court.

The witnesses: First, Joseph Dias says he sold Mr. Bodaille three pieces of unbleached bramant (or brabant a sort of linen supposedly from Brabant in Bel-

gium) for 136 pesos 7 reales; second, Surriray de la Rue testifies he sold something, but because of the bad condition of the record it is impossible to make it out; third, Santiago Meder (Mather) says he sold a cable and 17 quintals of flour at 200 pesos; fourth, L. Quin says he sold Bodaille an anchor for 140 pesos; fifth, Andres Juen sold a boom for 33 pesos 6 reales, a mast, a rudder for 7 pesos, 26 planks, a main sail, for a bilander, (an undecipherable word) for 110 pesos, a barrel of lime, 22½ tons of tar at 2 reales a ton, making 33 pesos 6 reales, 2 pieces of wood, 2 barrels of tar at 13 pesos, 3 barrels of (undecipherable), and some slaves; sixth, Estaban Plauche declares he sold Bodaille crab, or cray-fish, claws and 16 tons of various other articles. The name of the last witness and his incomplete testimony is illegible.

This record has been almost entirely destroyed by rats. There are just bits of discolored scraps here and there. May 14.

Maria Catarina Grifon petitions to have testimony given to prove her purity of blood, life and morals.

No. 27. 15 pp. Court of Alcalde Panis. No Assessor. Escribano, A. Almonester.

This suit, which seems to deal with the procedure for the emancipation of a minor, also involves the proof of her purity of blood, life and morals. This latter procedure was quite common in Spanish law of this period, when only "old Christians" had good standing, socially and legally. It is of interest both to the student of Louisiana law and to the historian, on account of the law involved and the testimony adduced in the procedure.—W. P.

Maria Catarina Josefa Grifon Danneville, spinster, more than fourteen years of age, accustomed to administer her own affairs, says it is convenient to her right to be given a copy of her baptismal certificate presented in the office of the present escribano for the purpose of emancipating herself. She prays to have Almonester ordered to make for her a certified copy of it in due form. Petition granted, provided she pay the just fees for same.

The certified copy of the document reads: Extract from the register of baptisms of the Parish Church of New Chartres, Diocese of Quebec, 1762, July 22, the Missionary Priest of the Parish of

St. Ann of New Chartres baptized Miss Marie Catherine Joseph Griffon, born the day before, daughter of Mr. Griffon Danneville, former Commissary of Fort Chartres, and Miss Catherine Poupard. The godfather was Joseph Dinguelbert Le Fevre, Keeper of the King's Stores at Fort Chartres, and the godmother, Mme. De Girardeau. The Priest signing was Father Loisel Girardot. The copy was made by Francisco Luc Collet, Recollet Priest (Recollect), Pastor of Kaokias and Missionary in Illinois, dated New Chartres, August 4, 1764.

List of questions presented by the petitioner. The petitioner sets down the questions she would like to have answered by the witnesses she

presents; they are as follows:

1st. Is she not the legitimate daughter, born of the lawful marriage of Antonio Grifon Danneville, Commissioner during the time of the French Domination at Fort Chartres in this Colony, at present in possession of the English, and Catarina Poupard, both natives of Paris and now dead, and that they had her during their married life, nursed, educated and supported her in their house and called her daughter and she addressed them as her parents?

2nd. Was not Antonio Grifon Danneville, her father, the legitimate son of Simon Griffon and Julia Des Isles, natives of Paris, who was born during their married life, and that they nursed, educated and supported him in their house and called him son and he called them his parents?

3rd. Was not Catarina Poupard, her mother, the legitimate daughter of Juan Bautista Poupard and Maria Catarina Poupard, both natives of Mobile, who nursed, educated and supported her in their house and called her daughter?

4th. Is it not true that her parents and paternal and maternal grand-parents are and always have been old Christians, pure of all bad races of Moor, Jew, mulatto or Indian, and not recently converted, nor have they been prosecuted for infamous crimes, but on the contrary have always filled honorable offices?

5th. Is it not true, and has it not always been known, that she has lived in her parents' society with all honor and conduct corresponding to her state, performing acts of charity and devotion in union with faithful Christians?

6th. Is it not true that at the death of her parents an amicable partition was made of their estates, and that from them she inherited several houses in this city and a number of slaves, amounting in all to 5500 pesos?

7th. Is this not generally known?

8th. If she presents her baptismal certificate and not her parents marriage cerificates, it is because when the English took Fort Chartres they burnt the church where they were married, and therefore destroyed the archives.

Alcalde Panis' ruling.

Jacinto Panis rules: The certificates of baptism having been presented, let the information be received for this party from the witnesses she offers, and let them be questioned upon the particulars contained in the foregoing petition, and done, return their declarations to this Court.

The witnesses' answers.

All questions are answered in the affirmative by the following witnesses: Alcalde Guido Dufossat, Alexandre Latille, (or Latil.) and Julien Lesassier. Panis rules: Considering the foregoing evidence, let it be shown to the Syndic Procurator General. (Sindico Procurador Gral.)

The Syndic answers.

The Syndic Procurator General, signing himself Astier, renders this decision: Considering the testimony given for Maria Catarina Josefa Grifon Danneville, he says, as the evidence of the witnesses is in conformity and in accordance with the knowledge they have of the paternal and material lines of the aforenamed, as also of the estate she possesses, therefore he offers no objections to a declaration of her legitimacy, purity of blood, recommendable circumstances and good habits, in virtue of which may it please Your Honor to authorize and order as she petitions.

Alcalde Panis decrees,

Jacinto Panis then decrees: Whereas the foregoing information produced for Maria Catarina Josefa Grifon Danneville, by which it appears she is of legitimate birth, pure blood, in recommendable circumstances and of good habits, and also the property she possesses, with the explanation given by the Syndic Procurator General, His Honor says that he must approve and does approve, and for its better validation and force he interposes and does interpose his authority and judicial decree, and he orders that there be delivered to the peitioner the certified copies she asks, upon the payment of all just and due fees. This judgment ends the record.

May 20.

## Margarita Gutieres petitions for a permit to sell two slaves.

No. 3422. 40 pp. Court of Alcalde Jacinto Panis. Assessor, Postigo: Escribano, Mazange.

This case involves the settlement of the affairs in New Orleans, of a former resident of that place, now residing in Havana, by his wife, who wishes to join her husband. The property owned by the husband in New Orleans was insufficient to satisfy in full the claims of his creditors there; therefore the court, after the sale of the two slaves, separated the privileged claims from the unprivileged, ordering the former paid in full and the latter to have the remaining funds prorated among them.

The case is of interest to the student of Louisiana law because of the distinction between the privileged and unprivileged debts involved in the case, and to the historian on account of the close relations which the case shows to exist in that period between New Orleans and Havana.-W. P.

A request to appraise the slaves.

After this comes a request to have the slaves appraised. Panis rules accordingly, and orders a valuation made by Francisco Bijon and Adrien Joseph de la Place, public experts, naming June 7, as the date for the first auction call. These experts are notified and qualify, and appraise the two slaves, namely Francisco aged 35 at 500 pesos, and Maria aged 20 at 500 pesos. The negroes are again offered for sale on June 7, 8 and 10, and the auction is held on the 14th. After a spirited bidding by Messrs. Antonio Ramis, Joseph Antonio de los Santos, Pedro Marigny, Juan Davis, Maurice Conway, Francisco Caminada, Juan Dominguez y Galbes (Galvez), Julien Lesassier and Joseph

The first entry is a letter dated Havana, January 1, 1782, written by Salvador Pedrasa to his wife, Marguerita Gutieres, authorizing her to sell what he has left with her in New Orleans, so as to pay his creditors. The Petitioner begs leave to present this letter, so that she may wind up her husband's business here and go with her children to join him in Havana, where he now lives. She prays for a permit to sell, at public auction, whatever property Mr. Pedrasa owns in this city, in order to pay his legitimate creditors. Petition granted, and the three calls are made on May 20, 24 and 27, for the sale of the two slaves belonging to Salvador Pedrasa.

Adrien de la Place, the first offer made by Ramis being 700 pesos, and the last by Juan Domingo y Galvez being 910 pesos, the two slaves were adjudicated to the latter on condition that he comply with the stipulations of the sale.

The petitioner presents a letter. Marguerita Gutieres presents a letter, dated Havana, October 8, 1782, signed Juan Rios and addressed to "Don Telga," which is to the effect that he holds in his possession certain sums of money belonging to Mr. Pedrasa. She sets forth that she has petitioned to sell her husband's slaves to pay his debts, but did not realize enough on them for this purpose. She asks to have Juan Rios exhibit the amount he has under her receipt, drawn up in due form, so that with it she can make a partition among the creditors. Panis rules accordingly.

Juan Rios appears before Alcalde Panis and Escribano Leonardo Mazange, and under oath declares he must and does deliver the 80 pesos in his possession, resulting from the sale of twine in different places and at various prices; included in these 80 pesos are 28 of the 32 mentioned in his letter, which he must deliver in effective money because he has not really received it in specie, but he has collected the 28 pesos also resulting from the sale of the twine that Perazas sold in Havana. He could not collect the other 4 pesos remaining, needed to complete the 32 pesos.

Mrs. Perazas makes a statement. The petitioner states it appears to her that all demands presented against her husband in this Tribunal are just. She prays to have all the debts ordered paid according to their privileges from the amount realized, and if the funds are not sufficient let them be pro rated. Alcalde Panis sends this petition to his auditor of War for legal advice, and, in accordance with what Postigo says, rules: Let the creditors be paid according to the privileges of their credits, from the product of Salvador Perazas' estate, and for this purpose the corresponding pro rata will be drawn up by the present escribano.

Concursus of the Creditors.

Under a separate entry but bound with the foregoing appears:
Concursus of the Creditors of Salvador Perazas, Year 1782. The first of these is Juan de la Terga, Sergeant of Artillery in the Militia of this Place. He presents three vouchers and says Salvador Perazas owes him 101 pesos 4 reales, that he paid for him as his bondsman, and he asks to be reimbursed. He further requests to have Andres Fernandez, the witness signing the obligation, testify under oath that he has paid the various sums mentioned in the three notes. Petition granted. Fernandez declares it is true that Mr. Terga has paid the sums mentioned.

Second Creditor.

Juan Dominguez y Galvez, Lieutenant of the Regiment of Navarre, stationed in the Garrison of this Place, presents an obligation dated Havana, October 28, 1781, signed Salvador Perazas, which reads, in part: Received from Thomas Rumas 400 pesos which he obligates himself to return, at the end of voyage, to Juan Dominguez y Galvez in New Orleans, or in his absence to Juan Postigo, Auditor of War. The witnesses to this obligation are Camilo Forma, Juan Ximinez and Geronimo Rolo. This creditor avers, as the receipt shows, that Perazas has received 400 pesos from him, so he asks to have this amount paid to him. Panis, on Postigo's advice, orders this debt paid with the others.

Juan Bautista La Costa presents an obligation, signed by Manuel Ponze Pasquin, for Perazas, who could not write, dated New Orleans, September 20, 1781, to the effect that Salvador Perazas obligates himself to pay Mr. La Costa 500 pesos on his arrival in this city. He says that, as it appears from the above Perazas owes him the amount stipulated, therefore he asks for a writ of execution against his estate for this amount, its one tenth and costs. Panis, on Postigo's advice, orders this debt paid with the others.

Juan Ventura Morales, Accountant for the Branch of the Population and Friendship for the Indians in this Province (Contador del Ramo de Pobla. on y Amistad de Indios en esta Provincia), presents a copy of an extract from an account of what Salvador Perazas, owes, showing an indebtedness of 109 pesos for the rental of a house. He claims this is a privileged debt, and asks to have it paid in preference to the others. Panis, on Postigo's advice, orders Morales paid 109 pesos from the funds of Perazas' estate, because this debt is privileged.

Marguerita Gutieres then sets forth that it appears from the five documents she duly presents (not included in the record), her husband owes his Company in the Fixed Regiment of this Place, 2 pesos, 2 reales, 27 maravedi; to Francisco Muñoz 8 pesos 6 reales, for the imprisonment of his slaves; to Miguel Cantrelle 12 pesos, for the arrest of these negroes, who

to Miguel Cantrelle 12 pesos, for the arrest of these negroes, who were fugitives; to Juan del Postigo 13 pesos; and to Josef Marre support of herself and her children. These small debts amount in 26 pesos, for provisions and for money supplied to her for the all to 62 pesos. These are just, so she asks to have them and all others paid according to their privileges. Panis, on Postigo's advice, rules: As it is prayed.

Pro rating the debts.

how the 990 pesos were divided. These funds were derived from the sale of the slaves, 910 pesos, and from Juan Ruis (Rios), 80 pesos. Privileged debts: Juan Ventura Morales, 114 pesos; incidental expenses and costs for legal proceedings, 63 pesos; soldier's fees, 2 pesos 2 reales; for detaining slaves, 8 pesos 6 reales; Miguel Cantrelle, 12 pesos; Joseph Marre, 26 pesos; making in all 239 pesos. Leaving a remainder of 751 pesos to be pro rated among the other creditors in this manner: Juan Lacoste, 375 pesos 4 reales; Juan Dominguez y Galvez, 300 pesos 3 reales; Juan de la Terga, 75 pesos 1 real; thus completing the 751 pesos. These Creditors sign a formal receipt for same, which ends the record.

May 22.

Francisco Menard vs. Dominico Bergand, called Juan L'Ourse.

No. 3435. 4 pp.
Court of Governor General,
Esteban Miro.
Assessor, Juan del Postigo.
Escribano, L. Mazange.
To collect a debt.

This suit is interesting to the student of Louisiana law as showing the legal connection between New Orleans and the different distant posts of the Province of Louisiana, and to the historian because of its insight into the economic conditions of the period and the commercial connections between New Orleans and the non-Spanish territory of the Old Northwest.—W. P.

Francisco Menard, resident of the Post of Arcansas, at present in this city, states that one called Juan L'Ourse (the Bear), living at the Post of Vincennes, now in New Orleans, owes him 525 pesos for 725 deer skins, in pelts, and 90 pesos in money lent to him; for this sum he has made a note, that at his request the petitioner left in the possession of a resident of Illinois, who had promised to remit this amount to him during the present month of May. However this was a malicious subterfuge on the part of his debtor to avoid payment, as his arrival in this cap-Therefore, considerital proves. ing that the above named is a stranger and lives under the English-American Domination, asks to have him ordered under

An itemized statement shows

oath to acknowledge the debt and if he did not make out a note for same, and done, deliver his declaration to the plaintiff, so that he may take whatever action he may consider suitable. He further requests, considering Juan L'Ourse has come down to this capital in company with one called "La Jeunesse," to have the latter ordered to declare under oath what goods, merchandise or effects they have brought with them. Governor Miro rules accordingly, the taking of the depositions to be entrusted to the escribano, and done, let all be delivered to the Court.

Dominico Bergand, called Juan L'Ourse, declares it is true that he owes the deer skins, but he does not remember the 90 pesos. He made a note for the transaction, which is in the possession of one called Tour Angeau, who lives in Illinois. He has not paid this amount, because the latter told him if he delivered the pelts included in the note it would be necessary to leave a man to take care of them during his absence, advising him to avoid these costs of guarding them until the arrival of his creditor.

Juan Vauchere, called La Jeunesse, declares that he came down with Dominico Bergand and earned 20 pesos for the voyage and that according to appearances all he owned was about 2 quintals of flour. He did not see anything else.

Francisco Menard sets forth that as it appears from the declaration the defendant owes him 525 pesos, he asks to have him ordered to pay this amount, and failing to do so and as he has no possessions in this city to pledge to him, let him give a full and sufficient bond with a special obligation to pay the amount due in Illinois, as and in conformity to agreement. Esteban Miro, on Postigo's advice, decrees: Let a writ of execution be issued against the person and estates of Juan L'Ourse for the amount prayed. He must pay costs caused, or to be caused, up to the real and effective payment. A marginal note stipulates that the writ of execution which was ordered has been issued as prayed by this party. The end.

May 22.

Margarita, a free negress, petitions for the freedom of her daughter, Naneta, a slave of Mariana Lerable, at the price of her valuation.

No. 3441. 13 pp.
Court of Governor General Esteban Miro and Alcalde Jacinto Panis.

Assessor, Juan del Postigo.
Escribano,
Leonardo Mazange

This suit is of interest to the student of Louisiana law on account of the procedure involved in emancipating a slave, particularly the manner of appraisal and valuation of such slave, so as to arrive at the amount her mother, a free negress, must pay for her daughter's freedom. It is interesting to the historian because of the light it throws on the social and economic affairs of the time, particularly as to the value of a good servant, and the amount paid for the hire of a good house-servant in that period.—W. P.

Margarita, a free negress, states that she wishes to give freedom to her daughter, Naneta, a slave of Mariana Lerable, Widow Lecomte, at the price of her valuation, and for the accomplishment of this purpose she asks to have the widow appoint her appraiser, the petitioner naming Antonio Ramis, for her part. Miro, on Postigo's advice, rules: Proceed with the estimation of the negress, Naneta, as petitioned, for which purpose he appraiser aboveappoints the named. Let him be notified, so as to accept and take oath in due and proper form. The other party must name hers within two days, with a warning to proceed with the appraisement (should she fail to appoint one). Antonio Ramis is notified and qualifies.

Maria Juana Lerable, widow of the late Carlos Lecomte, answers with a rather amusing petition, presented for her by Chevalier Macarty, in which she states that she has been notified of a decree ordering her to name an appraiser to put a value on her negress, Naneta, and to comply with this ruling she names (Juan) Mercier, who must be notified so as to accept and take oath in due form. However she wishes to call to this Tribunal's notice that her negress is one of the most perfect creole servants in this Colony, with all the required qualities to make a good house maid, cook, laundress and has many other talents well known in this city. She further says that Naneta has been a fugitve from her house for the last eighteen months, during which time she was obliged to hire a negress at the rate of 4 reales a day, the current price in this Province for servants of this kind. She asks to be reimbursed for the amount she has paid out during the eighteen months Naneta was a fugitive. Miro rules: (Mrs. Lecomte) having named Mr. Mercier, let them proceed with the appraisement of Naneta, belonging to her, but first he must accept and take oath. With regard to her other petition, if the act of emancipation results, a provision will be made.

Juan Mercier is notified, but declines to act as an appraiser because he is occupied on his plantation. Chevalier Macarty, acting for the defendant, asks to name Lorenzo Wiltz, as appraiser, in place of Juan Mercier who has refused to act. Miro confirms this new appointment, and orders Mr. Wiltz notified, so he may accept, take oath and proceed with the appraisement. Lorenzo Wiltz qualifies, and he and Antonio Ramis value Naneta at 1000 pesos.

Mariana Juana Lerable repeats her request to be reimbursed for the money she paid to hire a substitute while Naneta was a fugitive. Miro, on Postigo's advice, rules: Naneta must pay her owner at the rate of 8 pesos a month for seventeen months.

The case passes into Jacinto Panis' Court, where Margarita, the free negress, exhibits the 1000 pesos and asks to have her daughter set free, and that her owner be ordered to draw up her act of emancipation and to receive the purchase price of her slave. Alcalde Panis rules: This party having exhibited the 1000 pesos, notify Mariana Lerable, Widow Lecomte, to draw up the act of emancipation for her slave, Naneta, for 1000 pesos. A marginal note stipulates that in accordance with the decree, he executed the act of emancipation August 6, 1782. Signed: L. Mazange.

Margarita asks for a taxation of costs. Panis rules: As it is prayed; let the taxation be made by the public taxer, who must first accept and take oath in due form. Luis Lioteau qualifies, and taxes costs at 17 pesos 2 reales.

(To be continued.)

